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DR. PUSEY

AND

THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

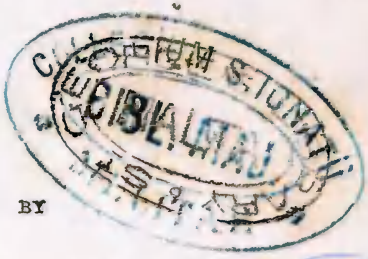
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DR. PUSEY

AND

THE ANCIENT CHURCH.



BY

T. W. ALLIES, M.A.



Nos enim sub uno capite, quod est Christus, et sub una Ecclesia, quæ est Christus, omnes fratres sumus, et unum corpus in Christo. PAULUS OROSIUS.

Hæc est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem sui Sponsi et Domini potestatem.

S. CYPRIAN and S. AUGUSTINE.

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DR. PUSEY

ON

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BY

E. B. ALLEN, M.A.

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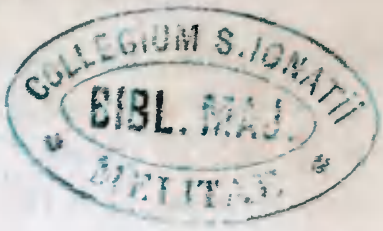
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DR. PUSEY AND THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

Among the advantages to the cause of the truth which we hope will result from the publication of Dr. Pusey's book, we are disposed to rank as the highest, that he has been led in one place to give a statement of his own position. Strange as it may seem, this is what Anglicans have rarely or never done. They have brought unnumbered charges of corruption of doctrine against the Catholic Church; they have made unnumbered attacks upon the authority of the Holy See; but they have ever avoided a simple and clear exposition of their own substantial standing-ground. They have never shown how they professed to reconcile their own separated condition with any theory of there being one Church. Yet, in order to come to a conclusion in any controversy, it is of the first importance to delineate one's own position and that of one's opponent; to compare and contrast them together, and by such comparison and contrast to show that the one is secure and impregnable, the other faulty and untenable. So far from doing this, An-

glicans have not even ventured to say what they mean when they repeat in the Creed, "I believe one Holy Catholic Church." We are therefore proportionately thankful to Dr. Pusey that, though it be in a book the far greater part of which is given up to assail the doctrine of the Catholic Church, he yet does in one place say what he means by these words.

In pp. 44-66 of his book he is meeting a charge brought by Archbishop Manning against the Church of England, that "if it teaches that there is a Church upon earth, it formally denies its indissoluble unity." Hereupon Dr. Pusey makes his statement of what constitutes the unity of the Church. "Our highest union with one another is an organic union with one another, through union with Him, Christ Himself."—It is "a unity derived from Christ, and binding all to Christ, descending from the Head to the Body, and uniting the Body to the Head" (p. 46). He illustrates this by beautiful passages from St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Hilary. "There is," he says, from St. Paul, "one Body and one Spirit; one Body, as held together by the one Holy Spirit" (p. 52). "This unity, derived from our Blessed Lord as Head of the Church, is imparted primarily through the Sacraments" (p. 54).

"Such an organisation, as essential to the transmission of grace from Christ our Head, seems to lie in the words of St. Paul, 'holding the head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, increaseth with the increase of God.' The joints and bands are in the image

of the body naturally those ministers by which the whole body is held together in one, and through which spiritual nourishment is ministered to the growth of the whole" (p. 55).

"Thus, then, we have from Holy Scripture, as means and conditions of the unity of the Church, one all-perfect Author, 'the one God and Father of all;' one end to which all tends, the 'one hope of our calling;' 'one Head,' the Head of the Church, our 'one Lord;' 'one Spirit,' giving life to every living member; the 'same Sacraments,' 'one Baptism,' and 'one Bread,' by which we are all engrafted into or maintained in the one Body of our one Head; one apostolic descent of the bishops and pastors of the flock, coming down from One; 'one' common 'Faith,' that which was given once for all, with the anathema that we hold no doctrine at variance with it, although an angel from heaven were to preach it. Of these we are receivers only.

"These if any wilfully reject, they reject Christ. They sever themselves not only from the Body of Christ, but directly from the Head, losing the band which binds them unto Him" (p. 56).

So far as this, all is coherent, true, and clear in Dr. Pusey's statement, which is, in fact, the statement of St. Paul in Ephes. iv. 4, and the belief of the Catholic Church concerning itself, as it was from the beginning, and as it will be to the end. But now this coherency, truth, and clearness are suddenly broken up by, as it were, the furtive entrance of a counter idea, at utter variance with that "organic union with one another through union with Christ Himself," which constitutes the one Body of Christ. For Dr. Pusey proceeds:

"These while Christian *bodies* retain, *they* are, so long, like the river which 'went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.' *They* come from the fountain of blessedness; *they* flow down to the ocean of the eternal love of God; *they* water the parched land; *they* cool and refresh the weary and the thirsty in the places which God

has appointed for them, with the one stream coming down from Him. *They* are one in their One Original, from which they continually and unchangeably derive their being. *They* adore God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost with the same new song of the Gospel; *they* confess Him in the words of apostolic faith; *they* offer to Him the same incense of praise, and the same holy offering whereof Malachi foretold, 'from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same,' pleading on earth to the Eternal Father that one Sacrifice as presented in heaven; *they* receive the same 'Bread which came down from heaven to give life to the world.' Unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas! in some things to one another, still before the throne of God *they* are one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church; each several portion praying for itself and for the rest, united in the prayers and oblation which it offers for all, by the One Bread and the One Spirit which dwelleth in all."

The whole force of the idea which Dr. Pusey had been conveying was, that there is one Body as well as one Spirit, and that this Body, being the Body of Christ, animated by His Spirit, the spirit of holiness and truth and unity, unites in organic union the members of Christ to Himself the Head by the communication of the same sacraments and the infusion of the same faith. And now the unity is suddenly changed into plurality; and that indefinite. The Body of Christ is turned into "Christian bodies." "These," we are told, "while Christian bodies retain, *they* are, so long, like the river which went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." Does Dr. Pusey mean to suggest that the one Body of Christ is parted into four? Of course, if so, it ceases to be a body, and to have the properties and the life of a body. But what is the antece-

dent to "these"? If we look above, it should be, "one God, one end, one Head, one Spirit, the same sacraments by which we are all ingrafted into or maintained in the one Body of the one Head; one apostolic descent, and one common Faith." But how is it possible that those who retain all these should become "Christian *bodies*," instead of being the one Body of Christ? It is in the same breath to affirm and deny the same qualities of the same object. It is not by "retaining," as in Dr. Pusey's hypothesis, but by denying some one or more of the things above mentioned that those who were in the one Body of Christ would become "Christian bodies" instead. And so it appears from his description of these "bodies." First, they are likened to four heads of water from one source; which seems the giving up of unity: secondly, instead of being "throughout all the world one bridal chamber of Christ, in which nothing can be distant, nothing accounted as foreign,"* they are "unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas, in some things to one another;" that is, they have not the Pentecostal gift, the one language of unity, but division and opposition; and having ceased to be one, have ceased to speak the same truth, and so to be of one spirit with each other. They have therefore given up the unity both of the Body and of the Spirit; and yet Dr. Pusey asserts that they "still before the throne of God are one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church;" and while human

* Pope Celestine, A.D. 430, to the Clergy of Constantinople. Mansi, viii. 147; Coustant. Epist. Rom. Pontif. p. 1131.

reason rejects and scouts such a monster as is here described, He who assumed a human body in order to create His great mystical Body accepts it and owns it for His. Is it possible for unreason to go beyond the confusion of thought shown in all this? We have a beautiful statement of the one Body and one Spirit, drawn from St. Paul, and corroborated by the most emphatic illustrations from the greatest Fathers, the whole force of which lies in the communication of the divine life of Christ through the same sacraments *in the unity of one Body*. Suddenly this is all relinquished for the existence of several bodies, opposed to each other; and it is imagined by the writer that one and the same conception is maintained by him throughout, as if the first part of his description were not the exact contradiction of the last. He argues, that because the great Fathers declare the communication of the life of Christ to be through the sacraments in the unity of the one Body of Christ, therefore they declare it to be through the sacraments in the disunion and separation of these so-called Christian bodies from each other. For, as we are further told by Dr. Pusey, though "the divine gift of unity requires, as a corresponding duty, mutual love," and of this "intercommunion is the natural expression" (p. 58), yet "there is no ground to assume that suspensions of intercommunion (sad and mournful as they are) in themselves hinder either body from being a portion of the Body of Christ" (p. 65). So "the great and glorious Body of Christ"* becomes

* τὸ μέγα καὶ ἔνδοξον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. S. Irenæ. iv. 337.

in Dr. Pusey's hands "Christian bodies," not having intercommunion with each other, being, in fact, "in some things opposed to one another" (p. 57); and to increase our amazement, the author considers that in making this statement on behalf of the Church of England, and as its theory of unity, he is defending it from the charge of denying the indissoluble unity of the Church.

It would seem then that what forms the basis of Dr. Pusey's confidence in the Church of England, the ground to which he trusts for his own salvation and the salvation of others in it, is this belief: that the divine life of Christ is communicated through the sacraments to bodies not in intercommunion with each other, and opposed in some things to each other. And whereas his premises led to the inference that the sacraments derived the life of Christ through the one Body to His members—the force of which idea lies precisely in this, that men receive the life of Christ by being in His one Body, the life imparted being conterminous with the Body, Dr. Pusey's own conclusion is, that the sacraments derive that life through several bodies at variance with each other to the members of these bodies; this conclusion being the exact contradiction of the unity which he set out with describing, and the establishment of that very charge brought by Archbishop Manning which he wished to refute.

Now it so happens that a large part of St. Augustine's life was spent in refuting a particular schism, in the course of doing which he had to bring out again and

again the truth here denied by Dr. Pusey. We shall bring presently abundant proof to show that the chief point urged by St. Augustine against the Donatists was this, that the possession of the sacraments does not carry with it the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost, unless it be within the one Body of the Church's unity, *in compage unitatis Ecclesiæ.* The controversy with the Donatists was exactly calculated to illustrate this truth, because they possessed, undisputed, every thing which the Church possessed, except the unity of the Body. They held the whole Faith, except that part of it which was broken by their division of unity.

The Donatists arose in the year 311, when Cæcilianus having been duly elected and consecrated Bishop of Carthage, the Primate and Bishops of Numidia, assisted by a party at Carthage hostile to the new Bishop, met, elected, and consecrated Majorinus as Bishop. The schism thus begun spread through all Africa; carried away with it, as it would seem, the majority of the population; and eighty years afterwards, when Augustine began his episcopate, was strong enough to hold a Council at Bagai, A.D. 394, attended by 310 Bishops, besides 100 more of their party separated by an internal schism.*

It is desirable to make here a few simple statements respecting the position held by the Donatists, and to define what they had, and what they had not, of things belonging to the Church.

Now, in the first place, there was no question as

* Tillemont, Ecc. Hist. vi. 140.

to the validity of their orders. St. Augustine never thought of contesting the point that they possessed all the orders possessed by the Catholic Church.

Secondly, though their conduct in electing and consecrating Majorinus against Cæcilianus incurred the guilt of schism, yet St. Augustine admitted that they had throughout Africa a valid succession of Bishops, running up without any break. There was in fact, as a general rule, a Donatist and a Catholic succession in each diocese; clergy against clergy, altar against altar.

Thirdly, the Donatists possessed the whole sacramental system of the Church, and exact identity of worship with it. Their schism had not taken some of the sacraments and discarded others, nor altered the nature of the sacraments, nor denied their efficacy. They possessed, maintained, and used all which the Church possessed; and moreover administered them as the Church administered them.

Fourthly, they held the same Faith, the same body of doctrine as the Catholic Church, except that one point which was involved in their schism, and which, persevered in, would, of course, make a heresy, viz. they maintained that the whole succession of Cæcilianus, and those who followed him, and those who communicated with him, had ceased to be part of the true Church, as being involved in the guilt of the consecrator of Cæcilianus, Felix of Aptunga, whom they asserted to have been a traditor, a betrayer of the sacred books in the persecution. With this single

exception, which bears a certain resemblance to the statement in the book of the Anglican Homilies, that the whole Christian world had been plunged in idolatry for a thousand years, perpetuated by the Anglican party, which calls the Pope Antichrist, though it is far less strong than such statement, they held and believed every thing which the Pope and the rest of the Church held and believed. No such difficulties, therefore, respecting doctrine existed in the case of the Donatists as exist in the case of Anglicans. They had, with this one exception, the same Faith as the Roman Church, and they all had it. There was among the Donatists nothing analogous to the High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church schools, with all their shades of difference, among Anglicans. They were of one jet and homogeneous; their schism turning upon an exaggeration of Catholic doctrine, not upon denial and deficiency.

Fifthly, they stood upon their old episcopal constitution, such as it had been in St. Cyprian's time. They were not joined together by any heretical principle directly antagonistic to the Church's unity, such as the derivation of the Church's spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power. Their community, as such, was severed from the Pope and the Catholic Church by an actual schism; but that schism was not consecrated into a principle, and made the bond of their separate existence, by transferring to the state the power of internal control and spiritual government, which had from its origin belonged to the Church.

In these five most important particulars, undisputed orders, undisputed succession, sacraments both undisputed and identical in number and nature with the Catholic sacraments, Faith the same as that of the Catholic Church, and lastly, their episcopal constitution in their several provinces, as it came down from its first origin, untrammelled by the intrusion of any civil power, they were markedly and most favourably distinguished from Anglicans, as represented by Dr. Pusey. And these five points are of such moment that when, in 411, exactly one hundred years after the schism had begun, a conference took place between the Catholics, represented by St. Augustine, together with six other Bishops, and the whole Donatist episcopate, the Catholics were enabled to offer them such terms that, upon simply giving up their schism, their Bishops should be received as Bishops, governing in each diocese in conjunction with the Catholic Bishop, until the survivor should succeed to the government of the whole flock. And, as a general rule, their clergy and those who professed continence or the virginal life among them were, upon becoming Catholics, received in the same rank which they had in the Donatist community.

In one other particular, the sixth which we shall mention, they had the same excuse as the Anglicans. In St. Augustine's time, being of a hundred years' standing, they had received the schism from their parents, and were held in it by all the ties of education, custom, friendship, and worldly interests, which

we see in such cases to be most powerful. In the application, therefore, of Catholic principles to them they could claim every indulgence on this score which Anglicans at present could ask for. In the one case as in the other, the guilt of schism, whatever it be, was inherited; and they had not the crime of those who began, but of those who continued it, with whatever palliation the mighty power of habit and transmitted custom carries with it. It was probably as contrary to the natural feelings, the worldly interests, and the national prejudices of a Donatist to become a Catholic as to those of an Anglican, for St. Augustine calls the Donatist temper "that most obstinate inveterateness of an obdurate habit."*

If, then, one could remove from the position of Anglicans, such as Dr. Pusey represents, every difficulty except one, the state, that is, of separation and schism; if one could suppose in Anglicans the possession of undoubted orders, of a clear and unbroken episcopal succession, of sacraments the same in number and nature as those of the Catholic Church, of the same Faith as that of the Catholic Church; and lastly, if one could remove the very formal principle which constitutes Anglicanism, which gives it a certain unity of fact, and makes it what it is, that is, the derivation of spiritual jurisdiction in it from the civil power, which every Donatist, as well as every Catholic, in St. Augustine's time, would have laid down his life to

* "Obduratæ consuetudinis pertinacissimam vetustatem." Contr. Gaudent. i. 33. tom. ix. 659 b.

repudiate;—if we could do all this, and so idealise, as it were, the Anglican position into the Donatist, we should then have persons in the same condition as those to whom St. Augustine used the language which we are about to quote. And in order to see the force of this language in the great doctor's mouth, it was necessary to point out the above six particulars. For Dr. Pusey is ready to condemn schism in ancient times, where personal interests and the ties of education and custom do not come into question; and when accordingly he admits that it is schism: the difficulty is to make him see that any thing is schism now. Let us suppose then that he possesses the five advantages above enumerated, together with the sixth which we ourselves recognise in him and in the Donatists alike, and see how St. Augustine would treat his belief that the possession of the sacraments, under such circumstances, carries with it the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost, the membership with Christ.

First then as to the point that the schism only of the Donatists was culpable, and that this once removed the impediment to their being Catholics would be removed also.

In his book on the unity of the Church he speaks of "correcting their single crime, that is, that they separated themselves without cause from the unity of the whole world."*

To Emeritus, in 405, he writes:

"For neither do we object to you any thing except the crime

* S. Aug. tom. ix. 339 b.

of schism, which by your evil perseverance you have made also into a heresy.—Do not suffer yourself to be turned aside to other questions; for this is the point from which the most regularly-constituted inquiry must start, Why the schism was made?"*

To Theodorus, in the year 401, he writes:

"Know then that we do not detest in them any thing except their own dissension, by which they became schismatical, or heretical, because they do not hold the unity and truth of the Catholic Church; inasmuch as they are not in peace with the people of God, which is spread over the whole world, and inasmuch as they do not recognise in men the baptism of Christ. We disapprove, therefore, of the evil error which they hold; but we recognise in them and venerate and embrace the good name of God which they have, and His sacrament. But for this it is that we grieve over them as wandering, and desire to win them to God through the charity of Christ, that they may possess in the peace of the Church unto salvation that holy sacrament which, outside of the Church's peace, they possess unto destruction. If then the evils of men be taken away from between us, and the goods of God in men be honoured, there will be brotherly concord and loving peace; so that the charity of Christ shall overcome in men's hearts the persuasion wrought by the devil. And therefore, when they come to us from the party of Donatus, we do not receive their evils, that is, their dissension and error; but these are removed from between us as being the impediments of concord, and we embrace our brethren, standing with them, as the Apostle says, in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, and recognising in them the goods of God, whether holy baptism, or the benediction of ordination, or the profession of continence, or the seal of virginity, or the faith of the Trinity, and whatever other things there be—all which, although they were there, yet profited nothing, so long as there was not charity. But who says with truth that he possesses Christ's charity when he does not embrace His unity? When, therefore, they come to the Catholic Church, they do not receive here that which they possessed; but,

* Tom. ii. 209 g, 211 b.

in order that what they possessed may begin to profit them, they receive here that which they did not possess. For they receive here the root of charity in the bond of peace and in the society of unity, in order that all those sacraments of truth which they possess may avail to them, not to condemnation, but to deliverance. For the loppings of the vine ought not to boast that they are not thorn-wood, but vine-wood. For if they do not live upon the root, they will be cast into the fire with all their kind. But of some broken branches the Apostle said, that God is able to ingraft them again. And therefore, most dear brother, whomsoever of them you may chance to see in doubt as to what rank they would be received in by us, show them this my handwriting, well known to you; and if they wish to keep it, let them do so; because I call God to witness upon my soul that I will so receive them as that they shall not only keep the baptism of Christ which they have received, but likewise the honour of consecration as religious and of continence."*

The next document not only bears St. Augustine's authority, but is a letter of the Council of Zerta, in 412, to the whole body of Donatists, after a conference held in the preceding year between St. Aurelian of Carthage, St. Augustine, and five other Bishops, representing the Catholic episcopate on the one side, and the whole Donatist episcopate on the other. It is, therefore, the voice of the African Church itself.

"The Bishops of your party, whom all elected to speak for them, endeavoured to their utmost that there should be no conference. Then at last, not having succeeded in this, what took place itself proved the ground of their fear, as they were beaten on all points. For they confessed that they had nothing to say against the Catholic Church spread over the whole world, because they were overwhelmed by divine testimonies from the sacred Scriptures, in which the Church is marked out as beginning from

* "Honorem sanctimonii et continentiæ." Ep. 61, tom. ii. 148.

Jerusalem, and increasing through those places wherein the Apostles preached, and wrote down in their letters and acts the names of such places, and as thence spreading through the other nations. That they had no cause against this Church they openly professed, wherein our victory in the name of God is most evident. For in establishing the existence of that Church with which we communicate, and they manifestly do not communicate, they bear witness that long ago they were overcome; and most plainly indicate to you, if you be wise, what you ought to give up and what to hold, not with that falsehood with which they do not cease even yet to speak untruly to you, but with that truth which, when convicted, they were compelled to confess. Therefore, whosoever is separated from this Catholic Church, however laudably he may think that he lives, by this single crime that he is disjoined from the unity of Christ, shall not have life, but the wrath of God remains upon him. But whosoever in this Church lives well, the sins of others cause him no harm, because every one shall bear his own burden, as the Apostle says. * * * But if you do not despise what God offers you, and, after a cause so carefully examined and cleared up with such pains, you relinquish your perverse habit, and agree with the peace and unity of Christ, we shall rejoice in your correction; and the Sacraments of Christ, which you possess unto judgment in the sacrilege of schism, will do you service and be salutary when you hold Christ the Head in Catholic peace, where charity covers a multitude of sins."*

2. We have here been brought from the point with which we begun, that the schism of the Donatists only was culpable, to St. Augustine's further statement as to the effect of the sacraments outside of unity. On this we must dwell at greater length; and first as to that of baptism.

In his first book against the Donatist Gaudentius, he says: "Neither flatter yourselves because we do

* Ep. 141, tom. ii. 457 d, 461 d.

not rescind your baptism. This is not yours, but belongs to the Catholic Church, which we hold; whence on your departure you took it with you, not indeed to your salvation, but to your destruction."*

In his first book upon Baptism, against the Donatists, he says:

"So let them understand that in communions separated from the Church men can be baptised, where the baptism of Christ is given and received by the same celebration of the sacrament; which, however, profits unto the remission of sins then, when any one being reconciled to unity is stripped of the sacrilege of dissent, by which his sins were held upon him, and were prevented from being remitted. For, as in the case of a man who approaches with an insincere heart, he is not baptised afresh, but receives the cleansing upon his own pious correction and sincere confession, which without baptism he could not, so that what was given before, then begins to avail unto salvation, when his insincerity departs by the truth of his confession: so likewise he who, as the enemy of charity and of the peace of Christ, has in any heresy or schism received the baptism of Christ, which the separatists had not lost, by which sacrilegious crime his sins were not remitted, when he has corrected himself, and has come to the society and unity of the Church, is not to be baptised again, because in the very reconciliation and peace it is granted to him that the sacrament should now begin to profit him in unity unto the remission of his sins, which sacrament, accepted in schism, was unable to profit him."†

In his fourth book on Baptism, against the Donatists, he repeats: "As baptism does not profit that recipient who renounces the world in word, but not

* Cont. Gaudent. ii. 9, tom. ix. 672 c.

† De Baptism. cont. Donat. i. 12, tom. ix. 89 b.

in deed, so it does not profit him who is baptised in heresy or in schism: but when in either of these cases the man is corrected, that begins to profit which before, though it was possessed, profited not."*

The following passage is remarkable, because St. Augustine uses exactly the same illustration of the water of Paradise used above by Dr. Pusey, but uses it to draw from it the contradictory of Dr. Pusey's conclusion. The latter had said:

"These while Christian bodies retain, they are, so long, like the river which 'went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads.' They come from the fountain of blessedness; they flow down to the ocean of the eternal love of God; they water the parched land; they cool and refresh the weary and the thirsty in the places which God has appointed for them with the one stream coming down from Him: opposed in some things to one another, still before the throne of God they are One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church."

St. Augustine says:

"The comparison of the Church with Paradise indicates to us, that as to its baptism indeed men may even outside receive it, but that no one can either receive or retain the salvation of blessedness outside of it (the Church). For the streams too, as Scripture witnesses, flowed broadly from the fountain of Paradise, even outside of it; since they are mentioned by name, and all know through what lands they flow, and that they were placed outside of Paradise: not for that, however, is the happiness of the life which is mentioned in Paradise to be found in Mesopotamia or in Egypt, whither these streams reached. Thus it is that though the water of Paradise be outside of Paradise,

* De Baptism. cont. Donat. iv. 4, tom. ix. 124 b.

the blessedness, however, is only within Paradise. So, therefore, the Church's baptism may be outside the Church; but the gift of a blessed life is only to be found within the Church, which likewise is founded upon the rock, and which has received the keys of binding and loosening. *This is She who alone holds and possesses all the power of her Bridegroom and her Lord;* by which conjugal power she can raise children even from handmaids: and if these be not proud, they shall be called into the lot of the inheritance; but if they be proud, they shall remain without. The more therefore, because we are champions of the Church's honour and unity, let us not attribute to heretics whatever we recognise in them belonging to her; but let us convict and instruct them that what they have from unity is of no avail to salvation, except they come to that unity. For the water of the Church is faithful and salutary and holy to those who use it well; but to use it well outside the Church no one is able. While by those who use it ill, whether within or without, it is borne unto their punishment, but does not contribute to their reward."*

This doctrine of St. Augustine's, that baptism received in heresy or schism does not convey the remission of sins, is applied by him to the case of adults only; because in them only the *obex* of schism and heresy can exist to counteract the proper grace of the sacrament.

3. In the following places he applies this doctrine to all the sacraments:

In his 89th letter, addressed to a friend, he meets an objection of the Donatists as to their being received with their orders:

"In fine, not as they suppose, and as they boast, do we receive them such as they were, but altogether changed, because they do not begin to be Catholics unless they have ceased to be

* De Baptism. cont. Donat. iv. 1, tom. ix. 121 e.

heretics. For it is not their sacraments which are hostile to us, for these are common to us with them, being not human but divine. The error which is their own must be removed, which they have evilly imbibed, not the sacraments which they have received as we have, which they bear and possess, in proportion as they possess them unworthily, to their greater punishment, but which they still do possess. Having, therefore, relinquished their errors, and having corrected the wrong of their separation, they pass over from heresy to the Church's peace, which they did not possess, and without which what they did possess was pernicious to them."*

In his 93d letter, A.D. 408, to a Donatist Bishop, he says:

"You ask, why then do you seek us? why do you thus receive those whom you call heretics? Observe how easy and how short my answer. We seek you because you have perished, that we may rejoice over you when found, at whose loss we were grieving. But heretics we say that you are, before, however, you are converted to Catholic peace, before you put off the error in which you are involved. But when you pass over to us, certainly you leave what you were, in order not to pass over to us as heretics. Baptise me, then, you say. So I would, if you were not already baptised, or if you had been baptised with the baptism of Donatus, or Rogatus, and not with that of Christ. It is not the Christian sacraments which have made you a heretic, but the wrong of your dissent. The good which has remained in you is not to be denied because of the evil which came out of you. The good which you possess, you possess to your ill, unless you possess it there from whence it is. For from the Catholic Church are all the Lord's sacraments, which you so possess and give, as they were possessed and given before you came out thence. But you do not, therefore, not possess them because you are not there, whence are what you possess. We do not change in you the things in which you are with us; for in many

* Epist. 89, 7, tom. ii. 222 b.

things you are with us, for of such it was said, 'in many things they were with me' (Ps. liv. 19). But we correct those things in which you are not with us, and wish you to receive here those things which you possess not where you are. But you are with us in baptism, in the Creed, in the rest of the Lord's sacraments. In the spirit, however, of unity, and in the bond of peace, in fine, in the Catholic Church herself, you are not with us. These things should you receive, what you already have will not then first be in you, but will then first profit you. We do not, therefore, as you imagine, receive people of yours, but by receiving make ours those who recede from you to be received by us; and in order that they may begin to be ours, they first cease to be yours. Nor do we constrain the workmen of the error which we detest to be joined with us, but therefore desire these men to be joined with us, that they may not be what we detest."*

In a writing against the Donatist Bishop of Carthage in 400, he says:

"Our God is not the God of dissension, but of peace, nor are His sacraments, in those who have receded from the Church, but the persons who have receded, His enemies. But as they have in baptism what may be given through them, so have they in ordination the right of giving; both, indeed, to their own destruction, so long as they have not the charity of unity. It is, however, one thing not to have, another thing to have unto destruction, another thing again to have unto salvation. That which people have not, must be given them when there is need that it be given; that which they have unto destruction we must endeavour, removing the destruction by correction, that they have unto salvation."†

To a Donatist Bishop, one of the seven selected afterwards in the great Conference, he writes:

"But you say, why do you wish us to be joined to your-

* Epist. 93, 11, tom. ii. 249 c.

† Cont. Epist. Parmen. 2, 13, tom. ix. 44 d.

selves if we are criminals? Because you are still living men, and capable of correction, if you have the will. For when you are joined to us, that is, to the Church of God, the inheritance of Christ, whose possession are the ends of the earth, you are corrected, in order that you may have life in the root. For of boughs broken off the Apostle says, 'God is able to engraft them again.' Therefore are you changed from the party in which you dissented, although the sacraments which you possessed, being the same in all, are holy. Therefore it is that we desire you to be changed from your perversity, that is, that what you have broken off may be rooted afresh.* For the sacraments which you have not changed, as you hold them are approved by us, in order that in the desire to correct your wrong we may not do a sacrilegious injury to those mysteries of Christ, which in your depravity remained undepraved. For neither did Saul deprave that unction which he had received, and to which king David, the pious servant of God, showed such honour. And so we do not rebaptise you, because we desire to restore to you the root, yet approve the form of the lopped vine-branch, if it is not changed. And yet this, however entire, can in no way be fruitful without the root."†

That the receiving the clergy in the rank which they held as Donatists is no excusing their schism, he thus shows:

"Your Bishops, or whatever clergy they may be, so far as concerns their ecclesiastical rank, have been received into Catholic unity, as seemed expedient for those for whose salvation provision was made, either by their continuing or ceasing to officiate. However, even in the case of those who have held the same rank among us as before, can you, as you said, he is a Bishop, you receive him as a Bishop, so likewise say, he is a heretic, you receive him as a heretic, or a schismatic, you receive him as a schismatic, or a Donatian, you receive him as a Donatian? For by these names it is not the grade of honour which is distin-

* "Ut denuo radicetur vestra præcisio,"

† Epist. 87, tom. ii. 212 b.

guished from a layman's rank, but the crime of error from Catholic truth. Accordingly the former, as ecclesiastical offices, being found even in those who are outside, who by leaving you and passing over to us become ours, are either received or not received as may conduce to the advantage of the population which we serve in this stewardship: but the latter, being faulty, and properly your own, are healed, corrected, changed; taking care, however, that the sacraments, without which a man cannot become a Christian, be so treated even in heretics that when they come to the Church, what is wanting be added; what is recognised, be approved: lest in our too great offence at the evils which they have produced against the Church, we should persecute even the goods which in departing from the Church they took with them. For in the case also of the broken bough, if, as the Apostle says, it be to be again engrafted, the root is restored to it, but its form is not changed."*

Again:

"For all the sacraments of Christ are possessed not unto salvation, but unto judgment, without the charity of Christ's unity."†

And,

"Let him understand that those who are most plainly placed outside in the manifest sacrilege of schism cannot be saved, and that all which they possess of the divine sacraments, and the liberality of the one legitimate Husband, so long as they are such, avails to their confusion rather than to their salvation."‡

And he writes to the Donatists, after the great conference held in the year 411:

"Nor let them seem to themselves great because we grant to them in unity that rank which they possess before they are delivered: for in possessing this outside of unity, they are more to be condemned for it. Since it is more ruinous to usurpers to

* Cont. Crescon. ii. 12, tom. ix. 415 g.
† Cont. Litt. Petiliani, iii. 40, tom. ix. 320 e.
‡ De Bapt. cont. Donat. v. 4, tom. ix. 144 f.

possess the military standards than to be without them: but when such men are corrected and brought back into the emperor's camp, the standards are not broken up or destroyed, but begin to adorn and to protect those whom before they belied and exposed to punishment."

And further on:

"Falsehood is convicted; the truth has dawned. Why still fly from unity? Why still despise charity? What is it to us to be divided by human names? One is the God who created us; one the Christ who redeemed us; one the Spirit who should bind us in one society."*

4. In the following passages he corroborates the doctrine above set forth by specific statements that the Holy Ghost, *i.e.* sacramental grace, is not received outside of the Church's unity.

Preaching on the day of Pentecost on the miracle of the day, he says:

"Their sound is gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world. For what else did the Holy Spirit foretell in the tongues of all nations, which He gave to those who had learnt only the one language of their own nation (which it was His will should be then the mark of His presence), except that all nations should believe the gospel, so that in the first instance each one of the faithful, but afterwards the unity itself of the Church should speak with all tongues? What do they reply to this who refuse to be incorporated into and joined with the Christian society, which bears fruit and increases in all nations? Can they deny that now too the Holy Spirit comes upon Christians? Why then now does each person, neither among us, nor among them, speak with the tongues of all nations, which was then the mark of His advent, except that what was then signified is now fulfilled? For then a single believer spoke with all tongues, and now the unity of believers speaks

* Ad Donatist. post collat. 35, tom. ix. 616 c.

with all tongues. And so even now all tongues are ours because we are members of the body in which they are. With reason then is it rightly understood that heretics or schismatics, though we admit them to possess the baptism of Christ, do not receive the Holy Spirit, unless when they adhere to the framework of unity through the fellowship of charity.* For then the tongues of the nations will be theirs likewise, because where these tongues are, they will be also, that is, preserving the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace in the same body of Christ which is growing every where. He who is not bound by this bond is a slave."†

Against the Donatist Cresconius he says:

"They who outside the Church have received the Church's baptism are with reason believed not to have the Holy Spirit, except when they adhere to that Church in the bond of peace by the connection of charity."

And further on:

"This Holy Spirit coming upon them gave originally such a sign that they who received Him spoke with the tongues of all nations, because this portended that the Church should be through all nations, and that no one should receive the Holy Spirit unless he was joined to its unity.‡ With the abounding and invisible stream of this fountain God makes glad His own city.—To this city then whoever is converted, laying aside the error of heresy or schism, correcting his conduct, and piously minded, if he already bore the sacraments, which might flow outside even upon the unworthy, these are honoured in him, because even in the stranger they are not considered strange, but he is forthwith cleansed with that fountain peculiar to the Church, of which no stranger hath part, that sealed fountain of the Holy Spirit from

* "Nisi dum compagini adhæserint unitatis per consortium charitatis." † Serm. 269, tom. v. 1093 f.

‡ "Hic Spiritus Sanctus veniens in eos tale signum primitus dedit, ut qui eum acciperent, linguis omnium gentium loquerentur; quia portendebat Ecclesiam per omnes gentes futuram, nec quemquam accepturum Spiritum Sanctum nisi qui ejus unitati copularetur."

which among you even every one, who in the rest of his conduct is praiseworthy, is separated by the sole crime of schism or heresy. When, therefore, your people come to us, ceasing to be yours, beginning to be ours, they receive what they had not, in order that they may begin to have unto salvation what before they had with a ruin proportioned to their unworthiness. For they receive first of all the Church herself, and in her, peace, charity, unity, by its proper and invisible fountain the Holy Spirit, without which (*i.e.* the Church, peace, charity, unity) assuredly nobody doubts that they would have perished, whatever else they had possessed among you, which could be drawn from the Church outside of her. But it is with an easier pardon that they receive what they never had, than if they had had and yet deserted it. * * * * For the strength which the sacrament of baptism rightly received has to purify the sacrileges of the Gentiles, that same strength has the truly apprehended charity of unity to purify the sacrileges of schismatics and heretics."*

I cite the following from the letter to Count Boniface in the year 417:

"Thus the Lord Christ is both the Just One and the Justifier; but we are justified gratuitously by His grace. But He does not justify except His Body, which is the Church. * * * So we being many are one body in Christ. And by this no man can be just so long as he is separated from the unity of this Body. For as a limb cut off from the body of a living man cannot keep the spirit of life, so a man cut off from the Body of Christ the Just One can in no way keep the Spirit of justice, though he may keep the form of a member, which he received in the Body. Let them, therefore, come into the framework of this Body. * * * * What then, says he, do we receive with you when we pass over to you? I answer, You do not indeed receive baptism, which might, outside the structure of Christ's Body, be in you, though it could not profit you; but you receive the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, without which no one can see God, and charity, which, as is written, covers a multitude of sins.

* Cont. Crescon. ii. 12, tom. ix. 417 c, 418 b-f, 419 c.

* * * The Apostle Peter, when he denied the Saviour, both wept and remained an Apostle: he had not yet received the promised Holy Spirit; but much more they have not received Him where, divided from the framework of the Body, which Body alone the Holy Spirit vivifies, they held outside of the Church, and against the Church, the Church's sacraments, and fought as in a civil war, raising our own standards and arms against us. * * * * But those, with whom and of whom we are treating, are not to be despaired of; for they are still in the body: but let them not seek the Holy Spirit save in the Body of Christ, the sacrament of which they hold outside, but the thing itself do not hold inside, of which that is the sacrament: and therefore they eat and drink judgment. For the one Bread is the sacrament of unity; since, as the Apostle says, we being many are one Bread, one Body. Moreover, the Catholic Church alone s the Body of Christ, of which He is the Head, the Saviour of His own Body. Outside of this Body the Holy Spirit vivifies no one: because, as the Apostle says, the charity of God is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, who is given to us. But he is not partaker of divine charity who is the enemy of unity. And so they who are outside the Church have not the Holy Spirit. For of them it is written, Who separate themselves, being animal, not having the Spirit. But neither does that man receive Him, who being feigned is in the Church; since of him too is written, The Holy Spirit of discipline shall avoid him that is feigned. Whoever, therefore, will have the Holy Spirit, let him beware of remaining outside the Church; let him beware of entering into it insincerely; or, if he have so entered, let him beware of persisting in that insincerity, that he may truly adhere to the tree of life."*

And to the same effect St. Augustine thus congratulates two Donatist presbyters "on their conversion into the unity of Christ and His peace:"†

"Your approach rejoices us, but let not our absence sadden you; for we are in that Church which by the mercy of God,

* Epist. 185, tom. ii. 659 c-g, 660 c, 661 d, 663 a.

† "Ad unitatem Christi pacemque conversis."

though it be every where spread out and diffused through the whole world, is yet one great Body of one great Head, while its Head is the Saviour Himself, as the Apostle says. But of the glorification of this Head, which was to ensue upon His resurrection, the prophet had long before foretold, 'Be Thou exalted above the heavens, O God;' and because, when He was exalted above the heavens, His Church was to fill the whole earth in her rich fecundity, the same Psalm added coherently, 'And Thy glory over all the earth.' Wherefore, my dearly loved, let us with assured mind and firmest heart continue under so exalted a Head in so glorious a Body, in which we are members of one another. And so, though my absence were in the remotest lands, we should be together in Him, from the unity of whose Body we must not recede. For if one house held us, we should be said to be together; how much more are we together, being in one Body together! Though the Truth Himself witnesses that we are also in one house, since Holy Scripture, which calls the Church the Body of Christ, likewise calls the same Church the House of God."

Then, after citing texts on the universality of the Church, he continues:

"To these and such-like testimonies of this great House, so many of which are found in all the Scriptures, its enemies so far yielded as to confess that they had no cause against the Church beyond the sea, which they admitted to be Catholic. With this we communicate, in order that we may be worthy to be joined to the members of Christ, and that we may embrace with the affection of most loyal charity the Structure of His Body."*

What a contrast between this Body and House of Christ, which wraps the earth in its embrace, and Dr. Pusey's "Christian bodies—unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas, in some things to one another, which still before the

* "Huic nos communicamus, ut conjungi mereamur membris Christi, et compaginem corporis ejus fidelissimæ charitatis amplectamur affectu." Epist. 142, tom. ii. 461 g.

throne of God are One Holy Catholic Church" (p. 57); while the separate portions anathematise each other upon earth. It is the difference between Dr. Pusey's theology and St. Augustine's.

And once more that the Sacraments are of no avail save in the unity of the Church, because in it alone the Holy Spirit dwells, who is not divided against Himself, he thus lays down:

"By this passage of Matthew ('he who says a word against the Holy Ghost') the Lord has much more plainly set forth what He wished us to understand; which is, that whoever resists with an impenitent heart the unity of the Church, where remission of sins takes place in the Holy Ghost, that man speaks a word against the Holy Ghost. For they, as we have said, are not in possession of this Spirit, who, even though they bear and use the sacraments of Christ, are disunited from His congregation. For where He spoke of the division of Satan against Satan, and that He cast out devils in the Holy Spirit, that Spirit certainly who is not divided against Himself, as the other, He continues, lest any one should conceive that Christ's kingdom also is divided against itself, through those who gather their own conventicles in Christ's name outside of His fold, 'he who is not with Me is against Me; and he who gathers not with Me, scatters:' in order to show that those did not belong to Him who, by gathering outside, would not gather, but scatter. Then He added: Therefore I say to you, Every sin and blasphemy shall be remitted to men, but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be remitted. What is this? Is it that the blasphemy of the Spirit alone shall not be remitted, because he who is not with Christ is against Him, and he who gathers not with Him, scatters? Certainly. For he who gathers not with Him, in whatever way he gathers under His name, has not the Holy Spirit. Here altogether, here He compels us to understand that the remission of every sin and every blasphemy can only take place in the congregation of Christ, which does not

* Epist. 173, tom. ii. 614 c.

scatter. And therefore all congregations, or rather dispersions, which call themselves Churches of Christ, and are divided and contrary to each other, and hostile to the congregation of unity, which is His true Church, do not belong to His congregation because they seem to bear His name. But they would belong to it if the Holy Spirit, in whom this congregation is bound together, were divided against Himself. But as this is not so (for he who is not with Christ is against Him, and he who gathers not with Him scatters), therefore every sin and every blasphemy shall be remitted to men in this congregation which Christ is gathering in the Holy Spirit, and that not divided against Himself. But that blasphemy of the Spirit, whereby men resist even unto the end of life with impenitent heart so great a gift of God, shall not be remitted. For even if any one were so contrary to the truth as to resist God speaking, not by the prophets, but by His only Son, in willing Him to be Son of Man for us, in order to speak to us in Him, this shall be remitted to him when he turns with penitence to the goodness of God, who, desiring not the death of the sinner, but that he should return and live, has given to His Church the Holy Spirit; so that whoever in Him should remit sins, they should be remitted. But whoever is an enemy to this gift, not seeking it by penitence, but resisting it impenitently, then not every sin becomes irremissible, but the despising, or even the assailing, the remission of sins itself. And therefore a word is spoken against the Holy Spirit when men never come from the dispersion to the congregation which has received the Holy Spirit for the remission of sins. * * * There is then one only escape that the blasphemy be not irremissible, that an impenitent heart be avoided; nor can penitence be considered to profit unless by holding to the Church, where remission of sins is given, and the society of the Spirit is guarded in the bond of peace."*

5. Fifthly, it is in perfect agreement with the above, that St. Augustine asserts, repeating in this the statement of St. Cyprian, that death itself incurred

* Serm. 71, tom. v. 402 f.

for the name of Christ outside of His Body's unity would profit nothing.

Thus he writes to a Donatist presbyter:

"See what follows: 'If I have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' You are called unto this charity: by this charity you are not suffered to perish; and do you think that it would do you any good if you cast yourself into destruction" (he had tried to destroy himself, in his horror of Catholics), "when it would profit you nothing even if another were to kill you, as long you were the enemy of unity? But placed as you are outside the Church, and separated from the framework of unity and the bond of charity, you would be punished with eternal punishment, even if you were burnt alive for the name of Christ. For this is what the Apostle says, 'Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.'"*

Which he thus repeats in a letter to Macrobius; where, after saying that if St. Cyprian was wrong on any point in the sacrament of baptism, God, in return for the charity which he had shown in the preservation of unity, revealed it to him, he continues:

"We must add, that that fruitful vine-branch, if he had any thing which still required cleansing, was cleansed by the glorious pruning-knife of martyrdom; not because he was slain for the name of Christ, but because he was slain for the name of Christ *in the bosom of unity*. For he himself wrote, and most confidently asserts, that those who die outside of unity, even though it be for that Name, may be slain, but cannot be crowned. Of such force, whether to wipe away or to retain sins, is the maintaining or the violating the charity of unity."†

* Epist. 173, tom. ii. 614 e.

† Epist. 108, tom. ii. 309 c. How far there may be in certain schismatics or heretics an invincible ignorance which exempts them from the literal application of such propositions as are contained in the foregoing extracts, is a most important question, but manifestly one entirely external to the scope of this pamphlet.

Now the whole of the preceding doctrine runs up into one principle, and is grounded on a single point of belief; both of which I will give in St. Augustine's words. In this, however, he himself is only transmitting and enforcing the doctrine of St. Cyprian, for he is commenting on the letter of that Father to Jubaianus. The principle is this: "'Salvation' he" (that is, St. Cyprian) "says 'is not outside the Church.' Who says that it is? *And therefore, whatsoever things belonging to the Church are possessed, do not avail to salvation outside the Church.*"* St. Augustine considered the proposition that salvation is not outside the Church to be so universally received, that he could not find a Catholic or a Donatist to dispute it. *Quis negat?* From it he draws the conclusion running through all the preceding statements, that the sacraments do indeed communicate the divine life of Christ within the unity of His Body, to which they belong; but likewise, that though possessed, they do not communicate that life outside of that unity. And the same St. Cyprian gives him the point of belief which expresses this great truth: "This is that one, and only one, who holds and possesses all the power of her Bridegroom and her Lord." As "dowered with the Blood of Christ," to use St. Augustine's words, she, the Bride, and the Bride alone, possesses by right the sacraments, through which she applies that Blood: if others take these

* "Ideo quæcunque ipsius Ecclesiæ habentur, extra Ecclesiam non valent ad salutem." De Bapt. cont. Donat. iv. 17, tom. ix. 136 a.

from her, and go out of her, they may take indeed the sacraments with them, but they take not the application of the Blood of Christ.

"Hæc est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem sui Sponsi et Domini potestatem."* This is the belief on which the Church has lived since the day of Pentecost to the present moment. This is the truth which, without exception, every Father held, and by reason of which heresy and schism were sins in their estimation so deadly. This is the truth in virtue of which every Father believed the Church to be infallible in her office of transmitting and communicating the Faith of Christ. This is the truth which Luther denied by his doctrine of justification, and which every society infected with Lutheranism abjures and derides. This is the truth which Dr. Pusey denies above, when he supposes that the one Body of Christ has been changed into "Christian bodies," which have ceased to be one in faith and in communion, and are opposed to each other in the transmission of the truth, all of them having admitted error. There is not a Father who would not consider such a statement a denial of the Christian faith itself in its root. Thus Dr. Pusey's doctrine is the most unpatristic which can be conceived, being the contradiction of that idea on which the Fathers lived. Has his mind ever received any thing which corresponds to St. Augustine's oft-recurring expressions, "the framework of Christ's unity," "the unity of the faith-

* De Bapt. cont. Dont. iv. 1, tom. ix. 121.

ful," "the unity of charity," "the charity of unity," "the bosom of unity," "to be grafted in the Vine," "to live on the root," "to adhere to the framework of unity by the communion of the truth," "to be converted to the unity and peace of Christ," "to be jointed into the unity of the Church," "the peace of unity and charity"? or could he say with Optatus, "to remain together with the whole world in the root"?* St. Augustine's expression, "we communicate with the Church beyond the sea *in order that* we may be worthy to be joined to the members of Christ, and that we may embrace the living frame of His Body with the affection of most loyal charity,"† is at once a specific condemnation of Dr. Pusey's Anglican position, and a specific contradiction of his own misconception concerning the Church.

II.

And this leads me to consider more attentively Dr. Pusey's statement in p. 61:

"England is not at this moment more independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome, than Africa was in the time of St. Augustine."

As a comment on these words I will first give St. Augustine's own expressions.

* "Compago unitatis Christi," "unitas fidelium," "unitas charitatis," "charitas unitatis," "gremium unitatis," "inseri in vite," "de, *or* in, radice vivere," "compagini adhærere unitatis per consortium veritatis," "ad veritatem pacemque Christi converti," "compaginem corporis Christi fidelissimæ charitatis amplecti affectu," "unitati ecclesiæ copulari," "pax unitatis et charitatis," and S. Opt. "in radice cum toto orbe manere."

† Epist. 142.

In his 43d letter, in the year 398, he is addressing certain Donatists, and has occasion to refer to the commencement of the schism. He exposes at some length the ill conduct of Secundus, that primate of Numidia who, after the election and consecration of Cæcilianus, began the schism by the counter election and consecration of Majorinus. And then he puts into the mouth of Secundus what he ought to have done. He should have addressed the assembly of Bishops thus (St. Augustine speaks of the year 311):

"You see, brethren, how, after such a destruction wrought by the persecution, peace, through the mercy of God, has been granted by the princes of the world. We, who are Christians and Bishops, ought not to break asunder that Christian unity which the Pagan enemy no longer attacks. And therefore, either let us dismiss to the judgment of God all those disputed matters which the ruin of of so turbulent a time has inflicted on the Church, or else, if there be any among you who have such knowledge of definite crimes committed by those men that they can easily prove them and convict the gainsayers, and if they fear to communicate with such men, let them go to our brethren and colleagues, the Bishops of the Churches beyond the sea, and there first lay a complaint respecting the acts and the contumacy of these men in refusing, through an evil conscience, to meet the judgment of their African colleagues. *The result of this would be, that they would be summoned thence to attend and to answer there what was objected to them.* And if they refuse to do this, their wrongheadedness and perversity will become known there likewise, *and a letter will be sent respecting them through the whole world, wheresoever the Church of Christ is spread, and their communion will be cut off from all Churches, in order that no error may spring up in the See of the Church of Carthage.* Then at length we can in security ordain another Bishop for the people of Carthage, when they have been separated from the whole Church, lest perchance, if another be

ordained now, the Church beyond the sea will refuse him her communion, inasmuch as the former, whom fame has already announced as ordained, and caused letters of communion to be sent to him, will not appear to have been deposed; and thus the great scandal of schism in the unity of Christ would arise in times now enjoying peace, through our giving our votes precipitately; and we should venture to raise another altar, not against Cæcilianus, but against the whole world, which in ignorance communicates with him."

And St. Augustine proceeds:

"Had any violent person refused to follow advice so sound and right, what could he have done? or how could he have condemned any absent colleague, when he would not have in his control the acts of the Council, in opposition to the Primate? But if so great a sedition was to arise against the Primate's authority as that some should wish to condemn persons whose judgment he wished to be deferred, how much better to separate from such unquiet and unpeaceful stirrers than from the communion of the whole world! But because there was nothing against Cæcilianus and his ordainers which could be proved to a judgment beyond the sea, for this reason they would neither defer before giving their votes against him, nor, after giving them, take persistent steps to bring it to the knowledge of the Church beyond the sea, whose communion it should avoid, as being that of traditors condemned in Africa. For had they attempted this, Cæcilianus and the rest would have been upon them, and by a most careful discussion before ecclesiastical judges beyond the sea, would have cleared their cause against their deceitful accusers."*

Here, then, St. Augustine recognises not merely in his own time, but in the year 311, before the Council of Nicæa, before that of Sardica, the supreme jurisdiction of the Church beyond the sea, that is, the Pope, in the *majores caussæ;* as for instance, in case

* Epist. iv. 3, tom. ii. 92.

a dispute arose, who was the proper Bishop of Carthage. Only in the preceding page to this of the same letter had he made one of his world-renowned statements respecting the authority of the Roman See, which one would have thought that Dr. Pusey must have seen quoted again and again, which, at all events, I have quoted myself to him. He says this primate Secundus

"ought the more to have feared lest the peace of unity should be broken, inasmuch as Carthage was a great and illustrious city, whence the evil there arising would descend as from the head through the whole body of Africa. For it was near the countries beyond the sea, and of great renown, whence it had a Bishop of assuredly no mean authority, who might disregard the conspiracy of a multitude of enemies, seeing himself to be united by letters of communion both with the Roman Church, in which the Principate of the Apostolic See hath ever been in force, and with the other lands whence the Gospel came to Africa itself, where he would be prepared to plead his cause if his adversaries attempted to alienate from him these Churches."*

Who, save the Pope, does Dr. Pusey suppose would issue the letter which St. Augustine mentions above, "a letter will be sent respecting them through the whole world, wheresoever the Church of Christ is spread, and their communion will be cut off from all Churches, in order that no error may spring up in the See of the Church of Carthage?" Is not "the Principate of the Apostolic See," of which he had just spoken, visible enough here? visible with a power not given to it at Nicæa, not given to it at Sardica, since the date here mentioned is before both, but which

* Tom. ii. 91.

always was in force—*semper viguit*—by its own inherent right.

In another place, in his great letter on the unity of the Church, in the year 402, St. Augustine says:

"The African Bishops were in conflict with each other: if they were unable to finish among themselves the dissension which had arisen, so that the factious disputers should either be reduced to concord or be degraded, and those who had the good cause should remain in the communion of the whole world by the bond of unity, there remained, undoubtedly, that the Bishops beyond the sea, where the largest part of the Church is spread, should judge respecting the dissensions of their African colleagues; at the instance, that is, of those who object to others the charge of a wrong ordination."*

Here, then, we have this supposed independence of the African Church refuted by St. Augustine. But this is not all. In the last years of his life another incident occurs, which will cast further light upon Dr. Pusey's assertion, that "England is not at this moment more independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome than Africa was in the time of St. Augustine."

St. Augustine had been led to divide his diocese of Hippo, and detach from it a place called Fussala, forty miles from his own residence, where, at his instance, the Primate of Numidia had consecrated a young man named Antonius as Bishop, who had been brought up from a child in St. Augustine's monastery. Antonius, however, behaved so ill, that he had been deprived by the Bishops of the province,

* Tom. ix. 340 a.

with the concurrence of St. Augustine, not of his rank as Bishop, but of his government of the See. He appealed to the Pope. St. Augustine feared that the Pope St. Cælestine would restore him; and his 209th letter, in the year 423, is written to the Pope to entreat him not to do so. He says:

"I make known to your Holiness our circumstances, that you may help us, not only by your prayers, but by your providing for us and aiding us; for it is in a position of great trial that I have written this to your Blessedness."

After narrating the facts respecting Antonius, he continues:

"Most blessed Lord and holy Pope, I beseech you to have all the details sent recited to you. Consider how he has conducted his episcopate; how he craftily persuaded that holy old man, our most respected Primate, to believe all he said, and so to recommend him as quite blameless to the venerable Pope Boniface, and the rest, which I need not repeat, since the said venerable Primate has referred the whole to your Holiness."

And he concludes with saying to the Pope that he thought of resigning his bishopric, should Antonius, for whose original appointment he was himself answerable, be restored, to the injury of so many souls. And his last words are:

"But if you deliver the members of Christ, which are here, from their deadly fear and sorrow, and console my old age with this act of merciful justice, your good act shall have a good recompense both in this and in the future life from Him who, through you, succours me in this my sorrow, and who placed you in the great See which you hold."*

* Epist. 209, tom. ii. 777-80: "Qui te in illa sede constituit."

Now, as Dr. Pusey will have it that "England at this moment is not more independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome than Africa was in the time of St. Augustine," let us suppose a parallel case to have happened in the Church of England a few years ago; and that the Bishop of Oxford wrote to Pope Pius IX., saying that the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford was a grievous burden to his conscience; that he trusted the Pope would take pity upon his sorrow; and that, if the appointment were persisted in, he should be compelled to resign his See. The Bishop of Oxford is understood, I believe, to have written a letter upon this occasion; but I never heard that it was to the Pope. Strong remonstrances were supposed to have been made against the appointment; but it was to Queen Victoria; and the result is thought to have been not quite what was desired by the remonstrant, though it did not lead to so unpleasant a consequence as the Bishop of Oxford resigning his See.

Would, then, Dr. Pusey think it natural for his diocesan so to apply to the Holy See? Will such a suggestion approve itself to the Bishop of Oxford now in the still more urgent case of Dr. Colenso? Has he thought of appealing to the Holy See to deliver his brethren and himself from one whom they prohibit to preach in their dioceses, but are obliged to acknowledge as fellow-bishop, and in whose cause not he nor his metropolitan, but the Queen alone in her Council, is the judge?

The Church of England is, as Dr. Pusey truly says, independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome; it has chosen instead the authority of the Queen in Council, and he is now enjoying the fruits of that choice. But St. Augustine undoubtedly recognised in Pope Cælestine the full power to annul or ratify the sentence of the Bishops of the province upon Antonius; so did the Primate of Numidia. And this occurred just at the time that we hear the last of that case of Apiarius, which Dr. Pusey seems to suppose to tell against the authority of the Pope: yet at the utmost it would only prove a claim on the part of the African Bishops that by the existing discipline the causes of priests should not be removed beyond the cognisance of their diocesans and the provincial synod; and a claim, moreover, to which the Pope does not seem to have yielded. At all events, the cause of a Bishop is brought before him without their protestation, and fully acquiesced in by the greatest of their body, St. Augustine, whose name is not attached to the letter quoted by Dr. Pusey at p. 68-70, and so much relied upon by him as a denial of the Pope's supremacy.

Now we have just seen that St. Augustine, with the approval of his Primate, had divided his diocese, and made Antonius Bishop of a part of it without applying to the Pope. Might not Dr. Pusey have laid hold of this fact, in order to deny the papal supremacy, with as much reason as the fact of Apiarius? Yet when Antonius is deposed from the go-

vernment of his See by the Council of his province, he appeals to the Pope; and St. Augustine and the Primate admit the Pope's authority as final in the matter. The original appointment of Antonius therefore only shows that the actual discipline of the time allowed a Primate and one of his suffragans to divide the diocese of that suffragan. So the case of Apiarius only shows that the African Bishops claimed under the actual discipline of the time that the causes of priests heard and decided in their several provinces should not be reopened at Rome; and that the Pope did not yield to their claim. There is, I believe, no doubt whatever that, though the case of Apiarius was lost by his own crime, the Pope continued to exercise the right which the Bishops deprecated. But in deprecating it they never imagined that they were denying the authority of the Roman Church, "in which the Principate of the Apostolic Chair had always been in force." They were standing on a point of discipline, which, rightly or wrongly, they thought was in their favour. It tells very much against their opinion, that the much more important case of Antonius (which was what Dr. Pusey calls "the reviewing of the judicial sentences of Bishops;" a reviewing which he denies to have been made by the Pope) was treated without question by St. Augustine as belonging to the judgment of the Holy See. He desired so ardently that the judicial sentence passed in Africa should hold good, that he mentioned to the Holy Father his intention to resign his See if

it was reversed; but he never thinks of questioning the Holy Father's authority to reverse it; and he entreats him earnestly to confirm it.

Yet Dr. Pusey seems to ground his wonderful statement as to the African Church's independence of Rome mainly on this case of Apiarius. After making it, he continues:

"There are only three conceivable ways in which the Bishop of one Church could interfere in the internal regulations of another. They are the confirmation of its Bishops, or of its canons or ecclesiastical laws, or the reviewing of the judicial sentences of its Bishops."

Let us enter a little more deeply into the matter, and try to get at the root of it.

St. Augustine's palmary argument against the Donatists, in that controversy which lasted all through his episcopate, was that they were in schism because they were cut off from the Body of Christ throughout the world. This Body of Christ, or the Church, he continually represents as the Vine. "Christ called Himself the Vine, and His children the Vine-branches;" "that Vine which grew and filled all lands."*

"Our larger book," he says, writing to the Donatists, "is the world: in that book I read fulfilled what in the book of God I read promised. The Lord said unto Me: Thou art My Son; to-day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee nations for Thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession. He who communicates not with this inheritance, whatever books he may hold, let him know that he is disinherited. This inheritance whosoever attacks, sufficiently shows that he is a stranger from the family of God."†

* Epist. 52, tom. ii. 119 c. † Ep. 43, tom. ii. 99 f.

A hundred passages like this might be produced from his writings. Thus, again:

"Whether Cæcilianus was ordained by men who had given up the divine writings, I know not; I did not see it, I heard it from his enemies. It is not read to me out of the law of God, or the preaching of the prophets, or the holy psalms, or from Christ's apostles, or from Christ's own words. But a Church spread over the whole world, with which the party of Donatus does not communicate, this the testimonies of all the Scriptures with one accordant voice proclaim."*

And he proceeds to give some of them. That this Church is one; that it is universal; that it is the one inheritance of Christ; that it is the Body of Christ, and as such that it has the life of Christ; and that what leaves it is cut off from that life: this is the perpetual burden of his song. Thus wholly possessed with this idea, he addresses men who formed the mass of the Christian population of his country; who had orders, succession, sacraments, a Faith identical with his own, and more than four hundred Bishops; and who, possessing all this, had fallen into schism by inheritance, not by personal choice; after this manner, in a sort of song which he had taken the pains to compose, in order that it might be learned by the common people:

"Would you know who speak falsely? Those who are not in unity. Long ago the cause was finished, because you stand not in peace. * * * You know what the Catholic Church is, and what it is to be cut off from the Vine; if there be any among you prudent, let them come, let them live on the root; let them save

* Epist. 185, tom. ii. 644 f.

themselves from the fire before they be utterly dried up. We do not rebaptise you, because there is but one character impressed by the Faith; not because we see you are *holy*,* but that you hold the form alone. For the vine-branch cut off from the vine still has the form. But what good does the form do it, if it does not live upon the root? Come, my brethren, if you desire to be engrafted on the Vine. It is a pain to see you thus lying lopped off from the tree. Number the Bishops from the very See of Peter, and observe the succession of every Father in that order: it is the Rock against which the proud gates of hell prevail not."†

The Vine, then, taken from our Lord's own words in the discourse held after instituting that greatest of the sacraments, through which He was to impart Himself in the unity of His mystical Body for ever, —this Vine, which St. Augustine says grew and filled all lands,—this Vine, on which he entreats the four hundred Bishops of Donatus to be engrafted,—contains in itself, as in one word, His doctrine on the unity of the Church: it is an image almost as stringent, almost as complete, as that of the Body. In fulness of doctrine, in vivid force, it perhaps only yields to that one expression. And St. Cyril of Alexandria, the great contemporary of St. Augustine, and the very embodiment of his Church's doctrine, interprets and proves one expression by the other.

"Can," he says, "any right-minded person doubt that Christ is therefore the Vine, and we as vine-branches draw life out of Him and from Him into ourselves, when Paul says, We all are

* "Sanctos," holy: that is, made so by being the temple of the Holy Ghost, and by His sacramental indwelling.

† Psalmus cont. part. Donati, tom. ix. 37.

one Body in Christ, for being many we are one Bread: for we all partake of the one Bread? For let any one tell us the reason, and in passing indicate the power of the mystical blessing. For why does it take place in us? Does it not even corporally place Christ within us by the participation and communion of His holy flesh? I think I speak correctly; for Paul writes that the Gentiles have become concorporate and participant and fellow-heirs with Christ. But how were they made concorporate? Being honoured with the participation of the mystical blessing, they have become one Body with Him, exactly as each of the holy Apostles."*

It is clear, then, that both St. Augustine and St. Cyril mean by the Vine what the Creed means by one Holy Catholic Church. And certainly it is not a little significant when, after entreating the four hundred Donatist Bishops to become engrafted on the Vine, St. Augustine adds abruptly, "Number the Bishops from Peter's own See, and observe the succession of every Father in that order: it is the Rock against which the proud gates of hell prevail not." But it is not this on which I wish to remark here; but another point. St. Cyprian, the great defender of episcopal rights in the ancient Church on the one hand, and of the Primacy of St. Peter on the other, says of the Church's government, in words which have become proverbial, "The Episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole."† The Episcopate is one indivisible power, exercised in unity, but only in unity. Here, then, is the meaning of the Vine

* In Joann. x. tom. iv. p. 862 c.

† "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."

again expressed, the one living Tree, which is Christ Himself; for the Head and the Body are one Person. The Episcopate cannot be detached in the case of single Bishops from the whole mass, and so exercised; for then it would not be held "in solidum," but with division; and would be a principle, not of unity, but of multiplication first, and anarchy ensuing. A Bishop so detached would be complete so far as the "forma" goes, because the vine-branch lopped from the vine has the form, but the form only. Such were all the Donatist Bishops in St. Augustine's eyes, who is exactly carrying out and illustrating the principle of St. Cyprian. This unity of the Episcopate was, somewhat later than St. Augustine, likened to the unity of the Divine nature in the Persons of the Godhead. Pope Symmachus, in 500, says, "After the manner of the Trinity, whose power is one and indivisible, there is one Episcopate in diverse prelates."* As, therefore, the unity of the Godhead does not admit division of power, so neither the unity of the Church in its Episcopate. The unity is the life in the one case as in the other; and so the life coextensive with the unity.

And this is what St. Cyprian proceeds to say; for in this very passage he is illustrating what he calls the "sacrament of unity." And after quoting St. Paul's words, "there is one Body and one Spirit," he goes on:

* Mansi, Concilia, viii. 208 b.

"And this unity we are bound firmly to maintain and vindicate, especially we that are Bishops, who have the chief place in the Church, that we may approve the Episcopate itself likewise to be one and indivisible. Let no one deceive the brotherhood by a falsehood; let no one corrupt the truth of the faith by perfidiously wresting it aside. The Episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole. The Church also is one, which as it grows in its fruitfulness spreads into a greater and greater multitude,—as there are many branches in a tree, but one strength founded on the root holding it together. Break a branch from the tree; after it is broken it cannot bud. So, too, the Church of the Lord spreads its boughs over the whole earth in its bounteous richness. But still the head is one, and the source one, and the mother one, rich in her successive fecundity."*

St. Cyprian, then, puts on the Episcopate this absolute condition, that it must be exercised in the unity of the Body—that it must live on the sap of the tree, which is the Vine; which St. Augustine carries out by declaring that the four hundred Donatist Bishops, in possession of all the sacraments, are not *in the Vine;* as St. Cyril says of lopped branches, "We shall be given to the fire, losing besides that life-giving sap which once we had from the Vine, that is, the Spirit" (p. 867). In all this St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, St. Cyril, are exactly the same in their doctrine of unity and of the sacraments, and in their illustration of the Vine and their identification of it with the one Body of Christ.

I now go on to a third point. The great Council of Chalcedon, held by Dr. Pusey himself to be ecu-

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, 4.

menical, addresses Pope Leo thus. It is describing the conduct of Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril and St. Athanasius in the See of Alexandria, the second in rank, and coming next after the Pope himself, in the whole Church:

"Like a savage wild beast he burst upon the Vine, and tore up the best plant he could find; and another which was fruitless and cast aside he brought in; and those who were devoted to the shepherd he cut off, but the declared wolves he put over the sheep; and, besides all this, he extended his madness against your Holiness, the very person intrusted by the Saviour with the Guardianship of the Vine, and meditated to cut off from communion you, whose anxiety is to preserve in unity the body of the Church."*

The good branch he had torn up was Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople; the fruitless cast-off branch which he had brought in was the heretic Eutyches; the doer of this is the holder of the second See in the Church; but the one intrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the Vine is only the Pope. This is written twenty years after St. Augustine's death, by a synod of eastern Bishops, in whose ears St. Cyril's doctrine was sounding; and thus by the former's favourite image of the Church in arguing against the schism of the Donatists an Ecumenical Council expresses the Pope's proper function in the Church. He is intrusted with the guardianship of the Vine, and that by the Saviour Himself. An Ecumenical Council states that it is not by the gift or concession of any council, but by the gift of

* Mansi, vi. 149.

the Lord to Peter, whose charge is continued on in his successors. The exact Papal idea, the exact function of the primacy, the exact power of the spiritual monarchy, is thus spontaneously ascribed to the Bishop of Rome by a council of eastern prelates, —that part of the Church which is supposed to have been most jealous of St. Peter's See; by a council which the Anglican Church still holds to be ecumenical. A thousand years later, the Council of Florence declares

"That the Roman Pontiff himself is successor of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, and true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and is Father and Doctor of all Christians; and to him, in the person of blessed Peter, full power was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church, as is also contained in the acts of ecumenical councils and in the sacred canons."

Now this decree, though more explicit and detailed, does not go beyond the meaning of the simpler words, "the very person intrusted by the Saviour with the Guardianship of the Vine."

Put St. Cyprian's doctrine as to the unity of the Episcopate under the figure of the tree, St. Augustine's expression of the Church's unity under the name of the Vine, St. Cyril's doctrine as to the Vine being Christ Himself in the unity of the mystical Body, conveying the sap of the tree, that is, the Holy Ghost, to its branches, and the Council's application of the same word together, and there results a somewhat deeper view of the Church's constitution than that proposed by Dr. Pusey. He evi-

dently has not contemplated at all that guardianship of the Vine attributed by what he deems an ecumenical council to one whom he terms a Bishop of one church, whose action is "interfering in the internal regulations of another." That office, created by our Lord Himself, and devolved from His own person upon St. Peter, and continued on for ever in his successors, "the Guardianship of the Vine," which engenders "the zeal to keep in unity the Body of the Church,"—this it is which no Council gave, not Nicæa, not Sardica, but which Chalcedon recognised as given by our Lord Himself; this is what the African Bishops thought not of declining, when they maintained, as they conceived, an existing point of discipline; this is what St. Augustine noted as "the Principate of the Apostolic Chair *which had ever been in force*" (in which latter words lies an equivalent to that of the Council, *intrusted by the Saviour*); this is what he pointed the Donatists to, when he described them as "Vine-branches lying lopped off upon the ground;" this is that power of the Chief Bishop in and by virtue of which "the Episcopate is one, a part of which is held by each without division of the whole;" for they live upon the root, and are part of the tree. Without the force of doctrine contained in St. Augustine's expression of the Vine his whole argument against the Donatists would have dropped to the ground; and scarcely more than twenty years after his death, a General Council states expressly that the Pope is the Guardian of this Vine,

and not only so, but that this is our Lord's inalienable gift. And they make this declaration of their own accord to the very Pontiff who described his own office thus: "The care which we in virtue of our headship by divine institution owe to all churches;"* "for the framework of our unity cannot remain firm unless the bond of charity weld us into an inseparable whole."† Thus does the very Pope, who seems to have been sent to Carthage as the bearer of a letter in St. Augustine's time,‡ use exactly St. Augustine's language to express the cohesion of the Episcopate:

"Because as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another. It is the jointing together of the body which makes one soundness and one beauty in it; and this jointing together, as it requires unanimity in the whole body, so especially demands one mind and heart in Bishops. For though these have a like dignity, yet have they not an equal jurisdiction, since even among the most

* "Curam quam universis Ecclesiis *principaliter* ex divina institutione debemus" (Ep. xiv.). Compare St. Aug.: "Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in qua semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit *principatus*" (Ep. 43). St. Irenæ. iii. 3: "Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter *potiorem principalitatem* necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam:" and the same Father uses the same word of our Lord's own primacy and headship (iii. 16, 6): "Uti sicut in supercœlestibus et spiritalibus et invisibilibus princeps est Verbum Dei, sic in visibilibus et corporalibus principatum habeat, in semetipsum primatum assumens, et apponens semetipsum caput Ecclesiæ, universa attrahat ad semetipsum apto in tempore." So again, "Over the army," said a Roman Emperor, "I am Imperator, in my household Dominus, in Rome Princeps." The word "principatus" would bear to a Roman of the empire as definite a meaning as "royalty" in English.

† "Nec enim poterit unitatis nostræ firma esse compago, nisi nos ad inseparabilem soliditatem vinculum caritatis adstrinxerit."

‡ See Epis. 191, p. 709.

blessed Apostles, as there was a likeness of honour, so there was a certain distinction of power, and the election of all being equal, preëminence over the rest was given to one. From which type the distinction between Bishops also has arisen, and it was provided by a great ordering that all should not claim to themselves power over all, but that in every province there should be one whose sentence should be considered the first among his brethren; and others again, seated in the greater cities, should undertake a larger care, through whom the direction of the universal Church should converge to the one See of Peter, and nothing any where disagree from its head."*

Thus was the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour, according to the expression of the Fourth Council, explained by that very Pope to whom it was applied. But it would seem that Dr. Pusey's mind so little apprehends the greatness of the function recognised by the Council and delineated by the Pontiff, that he does not get beyond the notion "of the Bishop of one church interfering in the internal regulations of another." In the mind of the Council, of St. Augustine, of St. Leo, of St. Cyril, of St. Cyprian, the Church is "unitatis nostræ firma compago;" in Dr. Pusey's mind there is instead "Christian bodies," retaining the sacraments, that is, some two, and some seven, but "unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed in some things one to another;" the Bishops of the part to which he belongs holding their sees on the tenure of rejecting the authority of him to whom the Guardianship of the Vine is committed, and of receiving from a temporal sovereign their spiritual jurisdiction,

* S. Leo. Ep. 14.

instead of from the successor of Peter; so that the very words applied by the Council to the heretic Dioscorus exactly express their condition, viz. that they are bent on rejecting the communion of him whose zeal is to hold in unity the Body of the Church.*

But we have not expressed the full force of this language as used by the Council to the Pope. "He turned his madness," it says, "against your Holiness, the very person intrusted by the Saviour with the Guardianship of the Vine." But *how* was Pope Leo intrusted *by the Saviour* with this Guardianship? He was—taking the list of Pontiffs given by St. Augustine in his 53d letter, down to Anastasius, and continuing it on to this time—the 45th Pope. He became Pope rather more than 400 years after the Ascension. Had any thing unusual taken place in his instance, with reference to which it could be said that Christ Himself had intrusted him with the Vine? Nothing; he was simply the legitimate Pope. The Council, as we have seen, called the good and murdered Archbishop of Constantinople, Flavian, a plant of the Vine, torn up by that wild-beast the heretical Patriarch of Alexandria; but of Leo it is said that our Lord had made him the Guardian of the Vine. In these words, then, it recognises not only St. Leo, but the whole line of Roman Pontiffs down to his time as "Guardians of the Vine." It puts the stamp of an ecumenical council upon the fact that Peter was first appointed by our Lord Guardian of the Vine,

* καὶ ἀκοινωνησίαν κατὰ τοῦ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑνοῦν σπουδάσαντος ἐμελέτησε,

and that every Roman Pontiff succeeding him was so appointed by our Lord. In no other way was St. Leo appointed by the Saviour the Guardian of the Vine but this. The Council attests with all the force of the four hundred years which had then elapsed a fact which it did not make; attests by the mouth of the 520 eastern prelates assembled under the presidency of St. Leo's legates, who are the only westerns present, all which the Roman Pontiffs have ever claimed; and not only so, but attests all which they have ever claimed as being a charge imposed upon them by Christ, not conferred by Councils, not even by the Church, but bestowed by the Head, recognised by the Body. And now in this year 1866 the Catholic Church asks no more of those who would become her children than that they should recognise in the 257th successor of St. Peter what the Fourth Council recognised in his 44th, "the Guardianship of the Vine, intrusted by the Saviour." No more than this, and no less than this.

And not only does the Council of Chalcedon, in the same letter to the Pope, entitle him "the Guardian of the Vine," but likewise declares that the Bishops forming the Council were his children, and he their Father; they the members, and he the Head presiding over the members. They accumulate upon St. Leo's person the characters of Father of the Bishops assembled in general council, and Head of the Church as represented in that Body, and Guardian of the Vine, which is that Body grown into all lands. They

identify the Vine and the Body as St. Cyril, St. Augustine, and St. Cyprian; and they make the Pope Guardian of the one and Head of the other, and Father of all Christians. Now, Dr. Pusey claims especially to follow the ancient Church—undivided, as he terms it. Is it not then a just claim which we make upon him, that he should respect and acknowledge the great function here spontaneously recognised by a Council deemed ecumenical in his communion, as belonging *by Divine institution* to St. Peter's successor? How is it that these expressions of the Council, so unambiguous and decisive, do not interpret for him every difficulty arising out of the earlier discipline of the first centuries, or the pressure of persecution obscuring the manifestation of the Church's unity, or the self-will of individual prelates, or the want of full knowledge in details? I understand that this witness may count for little with those who do not acknowledge authority to reside either in ecumenical councils or an "undivided" Church; but what can possibly be decisive to his mind, if this is not? In St. Augustine's time, he avers, the African Church was as independent of any authority of the See of Rome as the Anglican Church now is; and I reply to him, here is not the African Church merely, but the whole Church recognising in the person of a Pontiff mentioned in St. Augustine's letters all those prerogatives, couched in the most simple and decisive terms, which we claim for him now after the lapse of 1400 years. Either give up

the Council of Chalcedon, or admit that the Pope is by Divine institution Guardian of the Vine. Does Dr. Pusey claim to take it when he is proving the doctrine of the Lord's Incarnation, and to reject it when he is denying the charge laid upon St. Peter's successor by that Lord incarnate Himself?

The Guardianship of the Vine is the maintenance of what St. Augustine calls the "unity of Christ," because it is the unity of His Body, in faith and in communion. And this the African Bishops of his time fully acknowledged as intrusted to the Pope, and have left imperishable records of their acknowledgment, which it would be a marvel if Dr. Pusey does not know, and is an enigma why he chooses to ignore. St. Augustine had to fight not only with the schism of the Donatists, rooted in three generations, and all the force of temporal interests and worldly affections, but with the heresy of Pelagius, the denier of Divine grace. Now he, the Doctor of Grace, not only laboured with his mind and pen and voice in this matter, but took part in councils; and these councils passed decrees censuring Pelagius, which they sent to the Pope, Innocent I., for his approval. The 175th letter of St. Augustine is from the Council of Carthage to the Pope; the 176th is from the Council of Milevis to the same; the 177th is from Aurelius of Carthage, Augustine, his friend Alypius, and two other Bishops, to the same,—all composed by St. Augustine. It is with regret that I find myself compelled to answer a statement of Dr. Pusey from a book sent

to him more than fifteen years ago; but as it contains facts which are the exact denial of his affirmation, I am obliged to do so.

"We will turn to another controversy—one of the most subtle which has ever distressed the Church—one which harassed St. Augustine for many a year. Whither, after all his labours, writings, and prayers, in the Pelagian controversy, did he turn for its final solution? To St. Peter's Chair. Two African Councils had condemned Pelagius, and their decrees, drawn up by St. Augustine, were sent for approval to Pope Innocent I., together with another letter from St. Augustine himself and some friends, in which he says: 'We do not pour back our *streamlet* for the purpose of increasing your great *fountain*, but in this, not however a slight temptation of the time (whence may He deliver us, to whom we cry, Lead us not into temptation!), we wish it to be decided by you *whether our stream, however small, flows forth from that same head of rivers whence comes your own abundance*; and by your answers to be consoled respecting our common participation of one grace.'*

"In reply, A.D. 416, St. Innocent praises the Council of Carthage, that 'in inquiring concerning these matters, which it behoves to be treated with all care by Bishops, and especially by a true, just, and Catholic Council, observing the precedents of ancient tradition, and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have confirmed the strength of our religion not less now in consulting us, than by sound reason before you pronounced sentence, inasmuch as you approved of reference being made to our judgment, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all we who are placed in this position desire to follow the Apostle himself, *from whom the very Episcopate, and all the authority of this title sprung.* Following whom we know as well how to condemn the evil as to approve the good. And this too, that, guarding, according to the duty of Bishops, the institutions of the Fathers, ye resolve that these regulations should not be trodden under foot, which they, *in pursuance of no human but a Divine sentence, have decreed, viz.*

* Epist. 177.

*that whatever was being carried on, although in the most distant and remote provinces, should not be terminated before it was brought to the knowledge of this See; by the full authority of which the just sentence should be confirmed, and that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order, whom they should absolve, whom, as being bemired with ineffaceable pollution, the stream that is worthy only of pure bodies should avoid; so that from their parent source all waters should flow, and through the different regions of the whole world the pure streams of the fountain well forth uncorrupted.'**

"Here we have St. Innocent affirming,—1. that questions respecting the Faith had always been referred to the judgment of the Holy See; 2. that this tradition rested on Scripture, that is on the prerogatives granted by our Saviour to St. Peter; 3. that decisions emanating from the Holy See were not liable to any error, 'that the pure streams of the fountain should well forth uncorrupted;' 4. that all the Churches of the world had ever been bound to conform to them, 'that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order,' &c.†

"To the Council of Numidia St. Innocent says: 'Therefore do ye diligently and becomingly consult the secrets of the Apostolical honour (that honour, I mean, on which, beside those things that are without, the care of all the Churches attends) as to what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters, following, in sooth, the prescription of the ancient rule, which you know, as well as I, has ever been preserved in the whole world. But this I pass by, for I am sure your prudence is aware of it: for how could you by your actions have confirmed this, save as knowing that throughout all provinces answers are ever emanating as from the Apostolic fountain to inquirers? Especially so often as a matter of Faith is under discussion, I conceive that all our brethren and fellow-Bishops can only refer to Peter, that is, *the source of their own name and honour*, just as your affection hath now referred, for what may benefit all Churches in common throughout the whole world. For the inventors of evils must necessarily become more

* Coustant. Ep. Rom. Pontiff. 868. † Petit Didier, in loc.

cautious, when they see that at the reference of a double synod they have been severed from Ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence. Therefore your charity will enjoy a double advantage; for you will have at once the satisfaction of having observed the canons, and the whole world will have the use of what you have gained: for who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?'

"Here we may observe, besides what was said above,—1. that nothing concerning Faith was held for decided, before it was carried to the See of St. Peter, and had received the Pope's sentence; 2. that before his sentence the determination of particular Councils only held good provisionally,—'what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters;' 3. that such determination only had the force of a consultation or relation as to a difficulty, made to the Pope before his own sentence,—'at the relation,' he says, 'of a double synod;' 4. that the Pope's sentence, by which he confirmed Councils, was a final judgment, excluding the condemned from the Church's Communion, 'when they see that they have been severed from Ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence;' 5. that Bishops, as well as the faithful in general, always submitted themselves to such a decree. 'Who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?'*

"St. Innocent the Third could have said no more about the powers of his See; what does St. Augustine observe upon it?

"'He answered to all as was right, and as it became the prelate of the Apostolic See.'† And as to the effect of his answer, there are famous words of St. Augustine, which have passed into a proverb: 'Already two Councils on this matter have been sent to the Apostolic See; replies from whence have also been received. *The cause is terminated;* would that the error may presently terminate likewise!'‡

"We need no more to tell us what St. Augustine meant by that 'Headship, which,' he says, 'had ever flourished in the Apostolic

* Petit Didier, in loc.

† Epist. 186.

‡ Tom. v. 645.

See.'* It involves, we see, the necessity that all other Churches should agree in Faith with it, as having deposited in itself the root of the Apostolic confession, concerning the two natures of our Lord, to which the promise was given by our Lord, that the Church should be built upon it. St. Augustine and St. Innocent express the one true Faith under St. Cyprian's image of the fountain, who in the same most remarkable passage where he sets forth the 'one Episcopate, of which each holds a part without division of the whole,' says, 'as from one fountain numberless rivers flow, widely as their number may be diffused in broad abundance, yet unity is preserved in the source;—one still is the head, and the origin one.'

"The power, therefore, which was to maintain unity of faith and of communion does so, and can only do so, by having, both in matters concerning faith and in those concerning communion, a coactive jurisdiction, universal, immediate, and supreme. And in the fifth century this power is seen in undisputed operation, referring back to our Lord's institution as its source, and to all preceding ages of the Church for its exercise, and no one charges it with usurpation:"†

so far from it, the Fourth Ecumenical Council recognises it as a charge imposed on the Pope by Christ.

Now, to sum up the whole point raised by Dr. Pusey's assertion of a parallel between the independence of the Anglican Church now, and of the African Church in St. Augustine's time, upon "any authority of the Bishop of Rome."

In the Anglican Church a specific repudiation of "the Guardianship of the Vine," as committed to the successor of St. Peter, makes that bond of the civil supremacy by which that community was originally formed, has been held together through three centu-

* Ep. 43. † *See of St. Peter*, 1st edit. 1850, pp. 60-4.

ries, and while it is made up of parties in absolute contradiction to each other as to the Christian faith itself, is held together now, both as a political institution and a religious community. By this repudiation the unity of the Church, as the one bridal chamber of Christ, the one household of faith, is expressly denied, the successor of St. Peter being termed a *foreign* prelate; and this denial that he has any "spiritual jurisdiction, power, or preëminence" in the Anglican Church is the tenure by which every minister of hers, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the youngest deacon, hold rank within her; and the spiritual jurisdiction, power, or preëminence, so denied to St. Peter's successor, is assigned to the civil sovereign; and the religious community thus created and maintained does not communicate with the "Church spread through the whole world."*

In the African Church of St. Augustine's time the specific proof alleged by him that the Catholics were right and the Donatists wrong is, that the Catholics were joined by letters of communion with the Roman Church, in which the Principate of the Apostolic Chair had always been in force, and with the other lands whence the Gospel came to Africa;† while the Donatists were cut off from this communion, and therefore "not in the Vine."

Thus the specific bond of Anglicanism is in St. Augustine's mouth the specific condemnation of Donatism, except, indeed, that this statement is not fair

* S. Aug. ii. 644 f. † Ibid. ii. 91 e.

to the Donatists, who were, it is true, as a matter of fact separated from unity, but had not made repudiation of the chiefship of the Apostolic See the very ground of their separation.

More particularly. The question of divine grace is raised in the African Church by Pelagius: two Councils are held concerning it. Their acts are in the most deferential manner referred to the Roman Pontiff; his answer confirming them is received; and then at length St. Augustine cries, "The cause is terminated!"

The question of the grace of the sacrament of Baptism is raised in the Anglican Church. It is carried by appeal from the court of the Archbishop to the court of the supreme judge, the Sovereign in her Council. The decision of the inferior court is reversed, and the supreme judge orders the Archbishop to induct the Presbyter who has denied the grace of the sacrament into his benefice in the diocese of a suffragan prelate, who considers the Presbyter intruded to be a heretic, but submits to accept him as such in the cure of souls. A lay judge in a lay court performs this act of spiritual authority, and determines the question of the grace of the sacrament in the Anglican community, without reference to the Church "diffused through the whole world;" the authority of which, indeed, that judge has taken an oath* to deny.

Again, question is raised in the Anglican Church

* The Coronation Oath.

whether Dr. Colenso, a Bishop in its communion, is rightly deposed by his Metropolitan. The deposed Bishop appeals to the supreme judge in her court of the Privy Council. The judge so appealed to decides that the spiritual jurisdiction which the judge herself had given to the Metropolitan deposing is null and void; that the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop deposed is equally null and void, as given by the same judge illegally; that neither Metropolitan nor Bishop have jurisdiction at all. And in this *lay* judgment the two Anglican Primates and the first Bishop sit as assessors, but without power. And the whole question is terminated without reference to "the Church diffused through the whole world."

And question is raised in the African Church, who is the true Bishop of Carthage,—Cæcilianus or Majorinus; and if the African Bishops disagreed among themselves, it remained, says St. Augustine, that the Bishops beyond the sea, where the greatest part of the Catholic Church was spread, and where the Principate of the Apostolic Chair had ever been in force, should decide upon the dissension of their African colleagues.* Because this was not done, a schism arose; and a hundred years afterwards St. Augustine declares that the 400 Bishops descending from that schism, and not in communion with the rest of the Church and the Apostolic See, are outside "of the Vine," branches lopped off from "the tree of life," the unity of Christ; while we, he says, "communicate with the Church beyond

* See S. Aug. 9, 340 a, and 2, 91 e.

the sea, in order that we may be worthy to be joined with the members of Christ."*

Now, what all Catholics believe equally, what is part and parcel of the Catholic Faith, what no one can become a Catholic without receiving, is, that this Guardianship of the Vine has been from the beginning intrusted to St. Peter and his successors by our Lord Himself, as the Fourth Council asserts. But further, the right or the wrong appreciation of a great number of facts in the ancient history of the Church, and particularly in the first three centuries, depends on the mind having received or not having received into it this truth and made it its own. The reason why these facts are a stumbling-block to many who think themselves not only students, but fair judges and accurate representatives, of Christian antiquity, is that, so far from having received this truth into their minds, the rejection of it as an usurpation is a first principle with them. Proceeding from this rejection as a basis, which, if even unacknowledged, is firmly fixed within them, they see, in the case of Apiarius; in the resistance of St. Cyprian and Firmilian to a particular exercise of the Pope's authority; in the resistance of Polycrates of Ephesus to another such exercise; in the occasional vehemence and general tenacity with which particular churches maintained what they conceived to be points of the actual discipline of the Church, such, for instance, as that a priest, cut off from communion in a local church, should not be

* S. Aug. 2, 462 g.

restored to communion at Rome;—in these and such-like cases, minds so prejudiced see a confirmation of their own expressed or latent first principle, that the Papal authority is an usurpation; or that it was the growth of circumstances, admitted reluctantly and at length acquiesced in. But in how different a light will these same facts appear to a mind proceeding from the basis of the Fourth Ecumenical Council! Grant that its statement is the expression of the voice of the first four centuries, and he who believes in the Church having been once "undivided" must either grant this or deny his own principle; must assert an "undivided" Church, when it suits him, as against Dissenters, and repudiate it, when it irks him, as against Catholics; but grant once this recognition of the Council, and then what witness the facts of history bear to it! One whom Dr. Pusey deservedly respects and loves told him more than twenty years ago that "the ante-Nicene testimonies which may be cited in behalf of the authority of the Holy See need not fear a comparison" with those same ante-Nicene testimonies in behalf of a doctrine which Dr. Pusey fully holds, the Real Presence. But let us put, as the interpreter of these same testimonies, not a comparison between their relative value and that of testimonies to another doctrine, but the declaration of an Ecumenical Council of the "undivided" Church. Take as a light by which the facts of history are to be read the statement of the Church in 451, that the Guardianship of the Vine has been intrusted by our

Lord Himself to St. Peter and to his successors, Bishops of Rome. And now hear the voice which Dr. Pusey alone among Catholic things would seem to respect, and which at least we are happy in loving and respecting with him, and consider these ante-Nicene testimonies in behalf of the Holy See which it sums up:

"Faint they may be one by one, but at least they are various, and are drawn from many times and countries, and thereby serve to illustrate each other and form a body of proof. Thus St. Clement, in the name of the Church of Rome, writes a letter to the Corinthians when they were without a bishop; St. Ignatius of Antioch addresses the Roman Church, and it only out of the Churches to which he has written, as 'the Church which has the first seat in the place of the country of the Romans;' St. Polycarp of Smyrna betakes himself to the Bishop of Rome on the question of Easter; the heretic Marcion, excommunicated in Pontus, betakes himself to Rome; Soter, Bishop of Rome, sends alms, according to the custom of his Church, to the Churches throughout the Empire, and, in the words of Eusebius, 'affectionately exhorted those who came to him, as a father his children;' the Montanists from Phrygia came to Rome to gain the countenance of its Bishop; Praxeas from Africa attempts the like, and for a while is successful; St. Victor, Bishop of Rome, threatens to excommunicate the Asian Churches; St. Irenæus speaks of Rome as 'the greatest Church, the most ancient, the most conspicuous, and founded and established by Peter and Paul,' appeals to its tradition, not in contrast, indeed, but in preference to that of other Churches, and declares that 'in this Church every Church, that is, the faithful from every side, must meet' or 'agree together, *propter potiorem principalitatem*.' 'O Church, happy in its position,' says Tertullian, 'into which the Apostles poured out, together with their blood, their whole doctrine!' The Presbyters of St. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, complain of his doctrine to St. Dionysius of Rome; the latter expostulates with him, and he explains. The

Emperor Aurelian leaves 'to the Bishops of Italy and of Rome' the decision whether or not Paul of Samosata shall be dispossessed of the see-house at Antioch; St. Cyprian speaks of Rome as 'the See of Peter and the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise—whose faith has been commended by the Apostles, to whom faithlessness can have no access;' St. Stephen refuses to receive St. Cyprian's deputation, and separates himself from various Churches of the East; Fortunatus and Felix, deposed by St. Cyprian, have recourse to Rome; Basilides, deposed in Spain, betakes himself to Rome, and gains the ear of St. Stephen."*

Apply the key of the Fourth Council's statement to these facts, and we have very sufficient testimony from history even in the first three centuries, with all the incompleteness of documents, and hence of our knowledge, to the Pope's authority. The Guardianship of the Vine, from the beginning intrusted to St. Peter and his successors by our Lord, was compatible with very various discipline as to the distribution of power throughout the one Body. The Bishops during that long period when the Christian faith was never a religion allowed by the Roman Empire, and was often persecuted by it, may have had a greater derivation of the power of government,—arising, as we believe, originally from the ordering of St. Peter at the head of the Apostolic College,—than was good for the Church when persecution had ceased, or than was compatible with her acting openly and manifestly as one organisation throughout the world, or, again, with her increased extent. Material magnitude of itself would enter into calculation here: the greater the centri-

* *Newman on Development*, p. 22.

fugal force arising from extension, the greater must be the centripetal, to maintain unity. The headship of St. Peter, among twelve Apostles and the elders of an infant Church, will naturally be less conspicuous than the headship of his successor over a thousand Bishops and two hundred millions of faithful. "Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo"* is at once the Church's motto and the Pope's. The larger the tree the stouter the trunk to support it; the greater and more solid the sphere, the more intense the gravitation to its centre. And I believe these considerations are the clue to all difficulties as to the Papal authority arising out of the conduct of Bishops in those times.

But inasmuch as the case of Apiarius seems to be Dr. Pusey's sheet-anchor, let us enter into it fully and frankly.

Now, after the ground which we have just gone over, it is obvious that three things must be premised in considering this case.

The first of these is, that St. Augustine himself, to whom Dr. Pusey appeals—speaking of the year 311, which is antecedent to the Councils both of Sardica and Nicæa, and which is the very year in which the great Diocletian persecution terminated; so that the constitution of the Church which is referred to is that of the Church of the Martyrs—says of the Bishop of Carthage that he could afford to disregard the conspiracy of a multitude of enemies, seeing himself to be united by letters of communion,

* Quoted by De Maistre of the Papal authority.

not only with the other lands whence the Gospel came to Africa itself, but with the Roman Church, in which the Principate of the Apostolic See had ever been in force.* Will, then, Dr. Pusey accept, or will he reject, this clear, decisive, emphatic testimony of the greatest Western Father—a testimony placed by him in ante-Nicene times, to the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome as existing from the beginning; for, let him mark well, it is that, and no less—"qui semper viguit"? If he accept it, well and good; if he reject it, let him never venture to quote St. Augustine as an authority again. But St. Augustine, however great, is but an individual. Let us go on to an authority contemporary with St. Augustine,—for they who gave expression to it were men of middle years at the time of St. Augustine's death,—an authority expressly recognised as infallible by Dr. Pusey—the Fourth Ecumenical Council. This Council, then, more than corroborates St. Augustine's statement; for it declares, addressing the Pope himself, that the Guardianship of the Vine, which is the Body of Christ in all lands, was intrusted to the Pope by the Saviour. Again, I ask, does Dr. Pusey accept, or does he reject, this statement? If he accept it, well and good; if he reject it, let him cease henceforth to appeal to ancient Councils, for the appeal would be in his mouth an unmeaning inconsistency. But this I would put to him in favour of his acceptance. When he reads the

* Tom. ii. 91.

ante-Nicene Fathers, he may find in them concerning the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Blessed Trinity statements which occasionally may be confused and indeterminate. Notwithstanding, he believes these two doctrines upon the authority of the undivided Church; and specially he believes the true doctrine of the Incarnation as expounded by Pope St. Leo to this very Council of Chalcedon, and as accepted by that Council. All that can be cited out of the preceding four centuries against these two doctrines as ultimately defined go for nothing to his mind, and most rightly; because his belief in the authority of the "undivided" Church covers the whole ground, and makes the basis of his confidence impregnable. Now I ask, on what principle should he not accept this doctrine of the Council as to the Guardianship of the Vine, expressed moreover by the Council to the Pope as both undisputed and indisputable? To all of us who are Catholics these three doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome by divine institution,—that is, the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour,—stand upon one and the same foundation—the authority of the Church; stand together. I do not say, stand or fall together, because they can no more fall than God can fall. But does Dr. Pusey attempt to sever the two former from the third, and then call himself a disciple of the "undivided" Church?

This, then, is the first point.

The second is this. The African Bishops who so

wrote about Apiarius, and St. Augustine — who is their voice and, as it were, their soul—in exact accordance with a belief in the first point, when matters arose which concern the Christian Faith,—such as the doctrine of grace, attacked by Pelagius,—refer, as we have just seen, their Councils for confirmation to the Apostolic See; and they do so in terms of the utmost deference. They accept in answer the most unqualified statements from the Pope as to his own supreme authority in matters of Faith; and the Pope St. Innocent uses, as Dr. Pusey will no doubt remark, the image of water in St. Augustine's sense, and not in his. The transmission of the one Faith of Christ in all times is represented by St. Innocent not as a fountain, parted into four heads after leaving Paradise, in order to bless Mesopotamia and Egypt, but the Roman See is "the parent source, whence all waters should flow; and through the different regions of the whole world the pure streams of the fountain should well forth uncorrupted." And Dr. Pusey ought further to remember, that the African Bishops accept these statements, and that St. Augustine comments upon them: "He answered to all as was right, and as it became the Prelate of the Apostolic See." The African Bishops, then, believing the Principate of the Roman See to be of Divine institution, which is the first point, recognise it as the bond of Faith, which is the second.

The third point is this. In the case of Cæcilianus and Majorinus, about the year 311—whence sprung

the whole Donatist schism—St. Augustine says the dissension of the African Prelates ought to have been referred to the Bishops beyond the sea, of whom the Pope was chief, and who would have issued a letter to the churches of all the world, declaring who was the rightful occupant of the See of Carthage. St. Augustine, then, and his colleagues recognised in the Apostolic See and its Principate the bond of Communion, as well as the bond of Faith.

These three things, then—the Principate of the Apostolic See by Divine institution, and its recognition as the bond of Faith and the bond of Communion by that African Episcopate in which the case of Apiarius arose—are proved by testimonies quite unimpeachable to any one who holds Dr. Pusey's principles.

And now I would ask, if Dr. Pusey recognised, as the African Episcopate did, these three things in the Roman See,—a Primacy which was of Divine institution, in which inhered the supreme decision as to doctrine and the supreme judgment as to communion,—would he make much difficulty of leaving to that See the right to determine the particular causes of bishops and priests? Is it not precisely because he does not allow either of these three things that he flies for refuge to the case of Apiarius? It is true this case was a favourite resource with the historical school of Tillemont and Fleury, and with the dogmatic school of Bossuet, against those who held Bellarmine's conclusions. But then Tillemont, and Fleury, and Bossuet, and Bellarmine alike, held all the three points

above mentioned: it was not against either of these three points that the case of Apiarius was cited; but it was cited as serving to illustrate the proper adjustment of power between the Pope and the Bishops of his communion. As to this point it had a certain weight. Bossuet and Tillemont were consistent in quoting it; but it has nothing to do with the object for which Dr. Pusey cites it. He cites it in order to show that there was no bond of Faith and Communion between the African Episcopate and the Apostolic See—no Principate in it acknowledged by them; and he cites it for this purpose, because, the Anglican Establishment, as set up by Elizabeth, being the apple of his eye, and being set up precisely on the denial of the Principate of the Apostolic See as the bond of Faith and of Communion to the whole Church, and on the substitution of a civil supremacy as the centre of a national church, he is anxious to show by the testimony of the African Episcopate that they exercised an independence which denied the Primacy of Rome. Now I have proved by unanswerable testimony that the African Episcopate expressly recognised, quite apart from this case of Apiarius, what Dr. Pusey supposes that they denied. And now for the case itself.

Apiarius, a priest of Sicca, having been deposed and excommunicated by his Bishop Urbanus, appealed to the Pope, Zosimus, who restored him to communion, and sent his legate, Faustinus, with Philip and Asellius, to Africa, with instructions as to four

points: that Bishops might appeal to the Bishop of Rome; that they should not go so often to the Court; that priests and deacons inconsiderately excommunicated by their Bishops should be tried afresh by the neighbouring Bishops; and that the Bishop Urbanus should be separated from communion, or even summoned to Rome, if he did not amend what he had done amiss. The first and third articles the legate was instructed to ground on the canons of the Council of Sardica, which he quoted under the name of the Council of Nicæa, these canons being placed together.

The instructions thus given to the legate are demurred to by the African Bishops, as contrary to their practice up to that time, and as not contained in their copies of the Nicene canons. True copies of these canons are sent for from Constantinople and Alexandria, and are not found to contain the regulations which the Pope enjoined. After an interval of some years Apiarius, having been again restored at Rome, is brought back by Faustinus, as legate, a second time to Africa; and at length, in a great Council of Bishops, confesses the crimes which he had committed, and so puts an end to his own case. But the Bishops of the province of Carthage write an indignant letter to Pope Cœlestine, quoted by Dr. Pusey in pp. 68-70, in which they say to him, "We earnestly conjure you that for the future you do not readily admit to a hearing persons coming hence, nor choose to receive to your communion those who have

been excommunicated by us; because your Veneration will readily perceive that this has been prescribed even by the Nicene decree."

A conflict, then, has arisen between the Holy See on the one hand claiming to receive the appeals of bishops and priests, and on the other hand the African Episcopate standing upon their custom, up to that time, of hearing and deciding such causes among themselves. And it is remarkable that the Pope refers to the canons of Sardica—which he numbers under those of Nicæa,—and not to the inherent rights of his primacy; while the African Bishops refer to their immemorial custom, and to the express statements of the Nicene canons.

I think Dr. Pusey has a right to ask here for an explanation of two things—first, the strength of the language used by the Bishops in defence of their supposed rights; and secondly, why the Pope refers to canons rather than to his own power as Primate.

My answer is as follows; and it applies not only to this case of Apiarius, but to the resistance of St. Hilary of Arles to Pope St. Leo in the case of Celidonius, and to every other case of those ages wherein obedience was not yielded without a struggle to the Papal See. I conceive that while the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome was acknowledged all over the Church, as we have seen above most indubitably proved by the Fourth Council, yet all that was contained in that Principate was not seen and understood by every Bishop, or even by every pro-

vince of the Church. From the cessation of external persecution onwards through the fourth and fifth centuries, the Apostolic See, as the great unifying power of the Church, was making itself more and more felt. It was contracting that partial autonomy which in the first ages was exercised by local churches, and which must have been so much favoured by the state of persecution, or at least liability to persecution, through which for three whole centuries it was not possible to hold any Council of the whole Church. From the time these Councils begin the power of the Roman See increases: its Prelates are not present at them, but are represented by their legates, and the decrees are afterwards brought for their confirmation. Now of local churches I do not doubt that the African enjoyed the largest autonomy, subject, however, to the three points proved above,—the Primacy of Rome by Divine institution, and that as the bond of Faith and of Communion. And it did so perhaps because it had not received the Faith from Rome, but, as St. Augustine says, "from that root of the Eastern Churches whence the Gospel came to Africa."* When, therefore, the Apostolic See, having a fuller consciousness of its own powers and rights, as was natural, than was possessed elsewhere, began to stretch out its arms in all directions, and to make the whole Body move, as it were, with one impulse, the Bishops —who had inherited not, indeed, independence, but a considerable power of self-government—naturally felt

* See Epist. 52, tom. ii. 119 b; and Epist. 43, tom. ii. 91 e.

this action, and, as the whole Church lived upon tradition, as naturally appealed to this tradition, and sometimes almost in menacing language. For probably no Bishop and no Father in those times had worked out to himself the whole theory of the Church's government: each accepted that condition of things in which he found himself placed, and carried on the tradition of his predecessors. I have shown that St. Augustine fully acknowledged the Primacy of the Roman See as having ever existed; yet when I read his works against the Donatists, and specially his Pastoral on the unity of the Church, while I see that he has thoroughly grasped the indivisible oneness and universality of the Church as the House, Temple, Kingdom, Inheritance, and Body of Christ, and her perpetual function of teaching, as involved in these titles, and visibly exhibited in that oneness and universality,—I do not think that even that far-seeing and magnificent mind, that serene and capacious judgment, fully comprehended what was contained in the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome, which he himself alleged against the Donatists. What St. Augustine did not fully see, neither did his contemporaries. And so when as men they were touched, when the causes which they had been accustomed to decide were called to Rome, they cried out—they were vehement; yet, even so, the utmost that they venture on to the Pope is, "impendio deprecamur,"—we earnestly entreat you.

But why does not the Pope at once appeal to his

apostolic authority? Why does he cite canons of Councils, instead of his inherent right? I think it was part of the prudence which has ever belonged to the Apostolic See to cite to men what they would with least feeling of personal offence acknowledge: now the canons of Councils, as being the acts of Bishops, were their own acts. The Holy See, being filled with one consistent tradition from the very first, and having to impress this upon the whole Church, took men as it found them; employed one argument here, another there: content sometimes to accept as the concession of a Council what it knew to be contained in its own charge of feeding the universal Church. Now I admit, that to those who look at ecclesiastical history outside, and by whom the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour to the Pope is not acknowledged, this long process of unifying and, as I should term it, consolidating the Church's power, carried on by the Holy See century after century, may appear an usurpation. Such a one, not having the key in his mind, may even cry out, after detailing this very case of Apiarius, "I cannot imagine how a Divine right can be constructed out of a series of successful encroachments."* But if the Fourth Council spoke the voice of the Church (and Dr. Pusey, together with the community for which he pleads, acknowledges that Council, and believes, at least occasionally, in the Church which it represents), then the Divine right existed from the beginning. Now, given

* *Church of England cleared from Schism*, p. 145.

those three things with which we started—a Principate of Divine institution, which is the bond of Faith and of Communion,—then I conceive that the very adjustment of power between the Pope and the Bishops which has actually followed, could not in fact fail to follow, though the African Bishops, at a particular point of it, stood out for a right which they thought they had inherited; and though many others like them, as the great St. Cyprian and Hilary of Arles, who completely believed and held the Church's unity and authority, resisted the process going on in their day, by which that unity and authority were more and more brought out. It must be added, that St. Augustine in his latter years, as was shown above, seems entirely to have accepted the appeal of a Bishop to Rome, which was the most important of the points objected to by the African Bishops; and that from this time forth the claim of the Pope in both respects, as to receiving appeals of priests and bishops, seems to have been admitted.

III.

But there is another point of the greatest importance, which must also be allowed its due force. When St. Augustine, at the close of the fourth century, entered upon his episcopate, he found a large majority of the people in his own province of Numidia Donatists. In his own city of Hippo their predominance had been so great, that the Donatist Bishop enjoined the bakers of the city to bake no

bread for Catholics. Throughout Africa they were at least equal in numbers and social weight to the Catholics. What arguments, then, did he use against them, possessing, as they did, orders, episcopal succession, sacraments, and the Catholic Faith? We have a perfect mirror of his mind in a pastoral issued by him about the year 402. In this he says, addressing "the most beloved brethren committed to our charge, to whom be the salvation which is in Christ, and the peace of unity and charity:"

"The question at issue is, *Where* is the Church—with us or with them? The Church undoubtedly is one, which our ancestors called Catholic, in order to show by the very name that it is *through the whole;* for *throughout the whole* is in Greek *καθ' ὅλον.**

* The word Catholic, as applied to the Church, indicates the unity of a body, *i. e.* unity in multiplicity; so that this unity cannot be broken up without the parts which constitute the whole going to pieces with the whole. It is used already by St. Ignatius (*Ep. ad Smyr.* 8) in this sense of an organic connection of all the faithful together: "Where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church;" of which the words of St. Augustine above quoted may serve as an interpretation. The following passage of St. Basil will perhaps throw light upon both St. Augustine and St. Ignatius: "The Spirit is likewise conceived as the whole in its parts (*ὡς ὅλον ἐν μέρεσι*), according to His distribution of gifts. For we are all members of each other, but have gifts different according to the grace of God given to us. The eye, then, cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you; but all fill up together the Body of Christ in the unity of the Spirit, while they give mutually to each other the help necessary from the gifts. For God has placed the members in the body, each of them as He has willed. Now the limbs have a mutual solicitude for each other, according to the spiritual communion of the sympathy that is in them. Therefore, if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; if one member is glorified, all the members rejoice with it. And as parts in a whole (*καὶ ὡς μέρη δὲ ἐν ὅλῳ*), all we in particular are in the Spirit, because all we have been baptised in one Body into one Spirit" (St. Basil, *de Spiritu Sancto*, 26, tom. iii. p. 52 a). The Church, then, is Catholic,

Now this Church is the Body of Christ; as the Apostle says, 'For His Body, which is the Church.' Whence it is quite manifest that he who is not in the members of Christ cannot have Christian salvation. Now the members of Christ are joined to each other by the charity of unity, and by the same cohere with their Head, who is Christ Jesus. The whole announcement, then, concerning Christ is the Head and the Body. The Head is Jesus Christ Himself, the only-begotten Son of the living God; 'the Saviour of the Body,' 'who died for our sins and rose again for our justification.' His Body is the Church, of which it is said, 'To present to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' But between us and the Donatists the question is, *Where* is this Body? that is, where is the Church?"

And a little further on:

"The whole Christ is Head and Body. The Head, the only-begotten Son of God; and His Body, the Church: the Bridegroom and the Bride, two in one flesh. Whosoever dissent from the Holy Scriptures in respect of the Head, even though they be found in all the places in which the Church is marked out to be, are not in the Church. And again, whosoever agree with the Holy Scriptures concerning the Head, and do not communicate with the unity of the Body, are not in the Church, because they dissent from Christ's own witness concerning Christ's Body, which is the Church. For instance: they who believe not that Christ has come in the flesh, from the Virgin Mary, of the seed of David, which the Scripture of God most plainly says, or has risen in that

because the Spirit of Christ dwelling in it as His Body makes it one whole. This is the *proper idea* of Catholic, to which accedes the idea of universality; because it is the Body *of Christ*. Thus we find it in the middle of the second century, with this second meaning as well as the first, in the address of "the Church of God inhabiting Smyrna—to all the dioceses of the Holy Catholic Church in every place," as quoted by Eusebius. And so the full idea is, *organic unity in universality*. This idea is what St. Augustine expresses above and argues upon in all this pastoral, and in his other writings against the Donatists. See also Möhler's *Einheit in der Kirche*, Zusatz v. p. 268, and the quotation from Clemens Alex. below.

very Body in which He was crucified and buried; even though they were found through all the countries through which the Church is, are undoubtedly not in the Church; because they do not hold the Head of the Church, who is Christ Jesus, nor are deceived by any obscurity of the Sacred Writings, but contradict their best-known and plainest testimonies. Again, whosoever believe that Christ Jesus, as was said, came in the flesh, and rose again in the same flesh in which He was born and suffered, and is the Son of God, God with God, and together with the Father the Father's one and unchangeable Word, by whom all things were made; but still so dissent from His Body, which is the Church, that their communion is not with the whole, wherever it is spread, but is found in some part, in separation; it is plain that such are not in the Catholic Church. Therefore, inasmuch as our question with the Donatists is not respecting the Head, but the Body,—that is, not respecting our Saviour Jesus Christ, but respecting His Church,—let the Head Himself, about whom we agree, show to us His own Body, about which we disagree, that by means of His words our disagreement may cease."*

In what follows of this pastoral he produces a a great number of passages from the Old Testament, prophesying that there should be a Church, one, universal, and everlasting. After which he says:

"What, then, will they say to these passages from the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, concerning the Church of Christ which is spread through the whole world; which perverse men had rather resist than correct themselves, and communicate with it? What, I repeat, will they say? That they are false, or that they are obscure? False they dare not say, overwhelmed by such a weight of authority. Admitting them, then, to be true, they contend that they cannot be fulfilled; as if it were any thing else but to charge a prophecy with falsity, to say that what it foretold could not be fulfilled: that is to say, it is not a prophecy, but a false prophecy. And when you ask them why they cannot

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, ch. ii. iv. tom. ix. 338, 341.

be fulfilled, they answer, because men are unwilling. Man, they say, was created with free-will; and if he wills, he believes on Christ; if he does not will, he does not believe: if he wills, he perseveres in what he believes; if he does not will, he does not persevere. And so, when the Church had begun to increase throughout the world, men would not persevere, and the Christian religion failed out of all nations, except the party of Donatus. As if the Spirit of God did not know that men were to have wills! Who is mad enough to say that? Why, then, did He not rather foretell what He knew would be the result of men's wills? For in the manner in which these men think these predictions were made, any body who likes can be a prophet, since he can answer, when his predictions are not fulfilled, Men were unwilling—for Christians have free-will. In this manner any one might prophesy that Christ should not die by the cross, but by the sword; and when the issue was contrary, might answer, What could I do? Men endowed with free-will would not do to Him what I foretold, and would do to Him what they willed themselves. Might not, in this manner, many things have been prophesied, or yet be prophesied, by any body? For who can doubt that Judas would not have betrayed Christ, if he had willed it; and Peter would not have denied the Lord thrice, if he had willed it? But the prophecy concerning these was certain, for the very reason that God foresees even future wills."*

Then, passing to the words and promises of our Lord Himself, he rests, out of many others, principally on three passages, to prove that the Church is one, universal, and everlasting. These are:

"Can any one not understand, 'Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day; and that penitence and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem'? Can any one not understand, 'You shall be My witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth'?"†

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, tom. ix. ch. ix. p. 351. † Ib. p. 355 c.

The second is:

"The field is the world: let both—the wheat and the cockle—grow together unto the harvest: the harvest is the end of the world."

The third is:

"And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations; and then shall the consummation come."*

Not only in this pastoral, but in various writings against the Donatists, does he again and again recur to these three texts, both as being words of our Lord Himself, and as committing the very truth and honour of the Son of God to the assertion that there should be one Church, arising from Jerusalem, growing through all lands, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, from the day of Pentecost unto the day of Judgment. This assertion is the sword with which he transfixes the Donatists. His challenge to them is:

"As we by most plain testimonies have proved a Church diffused through the whole world, so let them also produce something plain to show that it was predicted that, all other nations perishing from the faith of Christ, Africa alone should remain, and the Bishops who should be sent from Africa."†

The Donatist assertion, then, was, the Church has ceased to be universal, and is confined to the Donatists in Africa. "Between us and them," St. Augustine says, "the question is, *where* is the Church?" There they stopped; but it was enough to condemn them in the great Doctor's eyes, and in the eyes of all Catholics then and since throughout

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, tom. ix. p. 362 d. † Ib. p. 365 d.

the world; and likewise in Dr. Pusey's eyes, who says their "body was formed on a heresy" (p. 65).

Now let us take St. Augustine's challenge once more:

"As we by most plain testimonies have proved a Church diffused through the whole world, so let them also produce something plain to show that it was predicted"—what?

that this Church should be broken up by schism, or have its office of teaching suspended by the non-communion of its parts; that it should in one such part preach the truth defectively, in another mix it up with errors; in fact, that the Church should cease to be one, cease to be the pillar and ground of the truth, and become, in the very words applied by our Lord to His great enemy, "a kingdom divided against itself"? This is Dr. Pusey's statement. The Church has ceased to maintain the one concordant doctrine of Christ, His whole doctrine, and nothing but His doctrine, *i. e.* "the Gospel of the kingdom;" and is parted into distinct Christian bodies, which each hold a certain portion of the truth, while each deny what others hold, each hold what others deny. Which is the more radical denier of the very existence of the Church—the Donatist, or the Anglican? The Donatist said, There is a Church to last for ever, and to teach the whole truth for ever; and it is mine. St. Augustine replied, It is not Catholic; it does not fulfil the prophecies. Dr. Pusey says, The one Body is become "Christian bodies, unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas,

in some things to one another." What have we to reply but that the very Idea of the Church is absent from any mind which can so speak? The question, therefore, between us and Dr. Pusey is, not *where* is this Body, that is, where is the Church; but does this Body exist, that is, *is there a Church?*

How much more absolute and radical a denial of our Lord's truth and honour is contained in this statement of Dr. Pusey than in that of the Donatists! How much less trouble it would have given to St. Augustine! for it is a point-blank contradiction of the whole doctrine on which his censure of the Donatists was founded. "The whole Christ is the Head and the Body: the Head, the only-begotten Son of God; and His Body, the Church: the Bridegroom and the Bride, two in one flesh." It predicates concerning this Body of Christ that it should be split in pieces by error, and cease to bear the witness which none but unity can give to the truth of the Lord's mission; and so it states in so many words the contradictory to the great promise on which St. Augustine relied, and says, "This Gospel of the kingdom shall not be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations until the consummation come."

I must again quote to Dr. Pusey a passage written more than thirteen years ago, and ask whether it does not find a full application in his book.

"Having on the one hand this vast amount of positive proof, from sources so various, in behalf of the Primacy of Rome, so that without it the whole Christian history of eighteen centuries, in all its manifold blendings with secular history, becomes unintelligible, a tangle which it is impossible to arrange, when we come

on the other hand to consider what its opponents allege of *positive* on their own side, we find nothing. They content themselves with objections to this or that detached point, with historical difficulties, and obscurations of the full proof, such, for instance, as the conduct of St. Cyprian in one controversy, the occasional resistance of a metropolitan, the secular instinct of an imperial government stirring up Eastern bishops to revolt, and fostering an Erastian spirit in the Church, the ambition of thoroughly bad men, such as Acacius, or Photius, and the like. But what we may fairly ask of opponents, and what we never find the most distant approach to in them, is, if, as they say, St. Peter's Primacy be not legitimate, and instituted by Christ for the government of the Church, what *counter-system* have they, which they can prove by ancient documents, and whereby they can solve the manifold facts of history? In all their arguments against the Primacy they are so absolutely *negative*, that the grand result, if they were successful, would be to reduce the Church to a heap of ruins, to show that she, who is intrusted with the authoritative teaching of the world, has no internal coherence either of government or doctrine, in fact, no message from God to deliver, and no power to enforce it when delivered. In the arguments of Greeks and Anglicans, Lutherans and Calvinists, and all the Protestant sects, the gates of hell have long ago prevailed against the Church, and the devil has built up at his ease a city of confusion on the rock which Christ chose for her foundation. If we listen to them, never has victory been more complete than that of the evil one over the Son of God; the promised unity he has scattered to the winds; the doctrine of truth he has utterly corrupted; the charity wherewith Christians loved one another he has turned into gall and wormwood. That is, the opponents of St. Peter's Primacy are, one and all, simply *destructives;* they inspire despair, and are the pioneers of infidelity, but are utterly powerless to build up. Ask the Anglican what is the source of spiritual jurisdiction and the bond of the episcopate which he affects to defend. *He makes no reply.* All he can say is, it is *not* St. Peter. Ask the Greeks if bishop and patriarch disagree, and come to opposite judgments on the faith, or to schisms in communion, which party makes the

Church. *He has no solution to offer*, save that it is *not* the party which sides with St. Peter's successor. Ask the pure Protestant, who maintains the sole authority of the written word, if you disagree about the meaning of Scripture in points which you admit to touch salvation, who is to determine what is the true meaning of the word of God. *He has nothing to reply*, save that he is sure that it is *not* the Pope. Contrast, then, on the one side a complete coherent system, fully delineated and set forth in the Bible, attested by the Fathers, corroborated by analogy, and harmonising the history of eighteen hundred years in its infinitely numerous relations, with, on the other side, a mere heap of objections and denials, with shreds of truth held without cohesion, with analogy violated, history thrown into hopeless confusion, and, to crown the whole, Holy Scripture incessantly appealed to, yet its plainest declarations recklessly disregarded, and its most consoling promises utterly evacuated. Choose upon this between *within* and *without*."*

Now, in order to show how St. Augustine, in all this argument against the Donatists, is simply expressing an idea which had full possession of the minds of all the Fathers, I will quote a testimony of the most illustrious of them down to his time on this one point. It will be seen with what unfaltering assurance, accuracy, and decision they have received and carried out and put forth to all time the teaching of the great Apostle: "There is one Body and one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all." And how this Lord "is Head over the Body," and "Saviour of the Body," so that "they two are one flesh."

* *St. Peter: his Name and Office*, p. 256.

St. Clement of Rome (A.D. 60-100), after referring to the obedience and discipline of an army, continues:

"Let us take our own body: the head without the feet is nothing, nor the feet without the head; and the least members of the body are necessary and serviceable to the whole; while all conspire and make one obedience serve for the whole body's preservation. So too let our whole body in Jesus Christ be preserved, and each be obedient to his neighbour, according to the rank assigned to him by grace. * * Those who adhere to the holy shall be sanctified. * * Why are there strifes, angers, separations, divisions, and war among you? Have we not one God and one Christ? And is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ? Why do we strain and torture Christ's members, and raise sedition against our own body? * * Learn to be subject, putting aside the boastful and haughty self-will of your tongue; for it is better for you to be found small and of repute in the flock of Christ than seeming to be eminent to be cast away from His hope."*

St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, martyred 107: "Where the Bishop is, there let the multitude" of believers "be; as where Jesus Christ is there is the Catholic Church."† Which his words elsewhere explain: "I beseech you to concur with the mind of God; for Jesus Christ, your incomparable life, is the Father's mind: as likewise the Bishops established in their respective boundaries are the mind of Jesus Christ."‡

Here is the Cyprianic statement: "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur;" in which solidarity is "the mind of Christ." So elsewhere, after commending unity, because the Lord did nothing without the Father, he continues:

* Ep. ad Cor. 37, 46, 57. † Ad Smyr. 8. ‡ Ad Ephes. 3.

"There is one Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better: haste together, then, all as to the temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ."*

And no less clearly he points out the danger:

"Sons, then, of light and the truth, fly division and evil doctrines; but where the Shepherd is, there follow you as sheep; for many wolves (as if they were) worthy of credit lead captive with an evil pleasure God's runners: but in your unity they shall not have place. Abstain from evil herbage, of which Jesus Christ is not the husbandman, because they are not the Father's planting. Not that I have found division among you, but purity drained off from dregs. For as many as are of God and Jesus Christ, these are with the Bishop; and as many as shall repent and come to the unity of the Church, those also shall be of God, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren; whosoever followeth one that causeth schism does not inherit the kingdom of God. If any one walks by another's opinion, he agrees not to the Passion."†

This unity of the Church he calls, in the same letter, the unity of God. "God pardons all, if they repent into the unity of God;" for Christ is "the door of the Father, through which enter Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Prophets and Apostles, and the Church—all these into the unity of God:" and again, "God's unity and yours." Thus the Prophets were saved "in the unity of Jesus Christ;" and the faithful are "so fused together, as the Church with Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ with the Father, that all things may be accordant in unity."‡

Hermas — considered by Origen, Eusebius, and

* Ad Magnes. 7. † Ad Phil. 3.
‡ Ad Phil. 8, 9; ad Smyr. 12; ad Phil. 5; ad Ephes. 5.

Jerome to be the Hermas mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14 —in his Pastor has a vision, which he describes at great length. He is taken into a vast plain, round which arise twelve mountains of very various aspect —some wild and rugged, some smooth and bare, some treeless, some wooded and rich, some full of thorns, some with flocks and herds and all manner of fruits, and some green above but barren below. At the centre of the plain stands a lofty rock; and on this rock he is shown a tower building. Stones are brought from the twelve mountains, and again dug out of the plain, which are all carried through one portal in the rock, and there built into a tower, the perfection of which is, as he again and again repeats, that all the stones are so jointed together as that the seams disappear and they look as one stone. The master of the building comes in to watch the work, and seeing certain stones already laid which are black, or spotted, or fractured, or defective in some way, orders them to be taken out: such as can be rendered serviceable to his tower, so that it may have one colour and aspect, one clothing, as it is named, he orders to have their defects removed, and then to be replaced; the rest he causes to be put aside as worthless, and afterwards to be taken back to the mountains from which they were hewn. Now he is told by his guide that these mountains are the nations of the earth, and this tower the Church: the Church not yet as it is to be; for the building is going on, and the faulty stones are taken out from it, and if

incapable of being squared to their place and wrought to the colour of the building, not put back, but replaced by others. How is it, the seer asks, that these mountains, so various, are formed into the one structure of the tower, and take one colour? It is because, he is told, "all the nations of the earth have heard and believed, and are called by the one name of the Son of God, and have received His seal, and accepted the same prudence and the same sense, and have one faith and one charity: and so they all began to be one body." And when the Builder saw it, "he began greatly to rejoice; for so fairly was it built, that any one who looked at it would long after its structure; for it seemed to be as if of one stone; nor did any jointure appear; but it looked as if sculptured out of a single rock."*

Author of letter to Diognetus, not later than Trajan:

"I speak not of things strange to me, nor inquire against reason; but being a disciple of Apostles, become a teacher of Gentiles. What has been delivered to me I supply to those who become worthy disciples of the truth: for who that is well taught, and that is born of the friendly Word, seeks not to know distinctly the things plainly shown by the Word to His disciples, to whom the Word, appearing visibly, manifested them in open speech, being not understood by the unbelieving, but conveying them to the disciples, who, being deemed faithful by Him, understood the mysteries of the Father; for which He sent the Word, to be visible to the world; who being dishonoured by the people, but proclaimed by the Apostles, was believed by the nations. This is He who is from the beginning, who appeared as one new, who was found (in time?), and is ever being freshly born in the hearts

* Hermas, Pastor, lib. iii. sim. 9, c. xvii. 9. Gallandi, tom. i. 96-108.

of saints. Through whom the Church receives her treasure, and grace expanding is multiplied in the saints, conveying understanding, manifesting mysteries, announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, given to those who seek it; by whom the boundaries of the Faith are not broken through, nor the boundaries of the Fathers overleapt. Thereupon the fear of the law breaks into hymns, and the grace of the prophets is recognised, and the belief of the gospels established, and the tradition of the Apostles kept, and the grace of the Church exults: which grace not grieving, you will learn what the Word utters, by whom He wills, when it pleaseth Him."*

St. Justin Martyr (A.D. 120-167). Commenting on "the Queen stands at thy right hand" (Ps. xliv.), he says:

"The Word of God addresses those who believe in Him, being one soul, and one synagogue, and one church, as a daughter, the Church that is made out of His name, and shares His name, for we are all called Christians."

And on the words, "Israel is my elect" (Is. xlii. 1, Sept.):

"For we, being quarried out of the side of Christ, are the true Israelitic race."

And again:

"So we all, as one man, through the name of Jesus having believed on God, the maker of all things, through the name of His first-born Son having put off our filthy garments, that is, our sins, and kindled by the word of His calling, are the true high-priestly race of God."

And on the words, "We announced before him as a child" (Is. liii. 2, Sept.):

"It signifies that the wicked, becoming obedient to Him, fol-

* Ep. ad Diognetum, s. 11.

lowed His command, and all became as one child. The like of which can be seen in the body; for while there are many members, all together are called and are the body. For both people and church, being many in number, are called by one name, as one thing."

And again:

"For the Vine that is planted by God and by the Saviour is His people."*

Irenæus (A.D. 120-200):

"This preaching and this faith the Church having received, though she be disseminated through the whole world, carefully guards, as inhabiting one house, and equally believes these things" (the creed he has just recited), "as having one soul, and the same heart; and these things she accordantly preaches and teaches, and delivers down as having one mouth. For though the languages through the world are various, yet the power of the tradition is one and the same. Nor have the churches founded in Germany otherwise believed or otherwise handed down, nor those in Spain, nor in Gaul, nor in the East nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor those in the middle of the world: but as the sun, God's creature, through all the world is one and the same, so too the preaching of the truth shines every where, and lights all men that are willing to come to the knowledge of the truth: nor will he among the Church's rulers who is powerful in word say other than this; for no one is above the Teacher; nor will he that is weak in word diminish the tradition; for the Faith being one and the same, neither he that can say much on it has gathered too much, nor he that can say little is deficient."

"There being then such proofs to look to, we ought not still to seek amongst others for the truth, which it is easy to receive from the Church; since the Apostles most fully committed unto this Church, as unto a rich storehouse, all which is of the truth, so that every one, whoever will, may draw from it the draught of

* S. Justin Martyr, Tryphon, §§ 63, 135, 116, 42, 110.

life. For this is the gate of life: all the rest are thieves and robbers. They must therefore be avoided; but whatever may be of the Church we must love with the utmost diligence, and learn the tradition of the truth."

"The Faith received in the Church we guard in it, which being always from the Spirit of God, like an admirable deposit in a good vessel, is always young and always makes young the vessel in which it is. For as the breath of life to the body, so this office of God is intrusted to the Church, that all the members receiving may be quickened, and herein is placed the communication of Christ, that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, the confirmation of our faith, and the ladder by which we ascend to God. For, saith he, in the Church God placed apostles, prophets, teachers, and all the remaining operation of the Spirit, of whom all those are not partakers who do not run to the Church, but deprive themselves of life by an evil opinion and a much worse conduct. For where the Church is, there also is the Spirit of God: and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace; but the Spirit is truth. Wherefore they who do not participate Him, are neither nourished unto life from the breasts of the mother, nor receive that most pure fountain which proceeds from the Body of Christ; but dig out for themselves broken cisterns from earthly ditches, and from the filth drink foul water, avoiding the Faith of the Church lest they be brought back, and rejecting the Spirit, that they may not be taught. But estranged from the truth, worthily do they wallow in every error, tossed about by it, having different opinions on the same subjects at different times, and never holding one firm mind, choosing rather to be sophists of words than disciples of the truth: for they are not founded upon the one rock, but on the sand which has in it a multitude of pebbles.

"The said heretics, then, being blind to the truth, cannot help walking out of the track into one path after another, and hence it is that the fragments of their doctrine are scattered about without any harmony and coherence. Whereas the road of those who are in the Church goes round the whole world, because it possesses a firm tradition from the Apostles. * * Now the Church's

preaching is true and firm, in whom one and the same way of salvation is shown through the whole world. For to her is intrusted the light of God; and hence the Wisdom of God, by which He saves all men, 'is sung at her entrance, acts with confidence in her streets, is proclaimed on her walls, and speaks ever in the gates of the city.' For every where the Church proclaims the truth: she is the seven-branched candlestick bearing Christ's light."*

Tertullian (A.D. 160-240):

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, so long as He was on earth, Himself declared, whether to the people openly or to the disciples apart, what will of the Father He administered, what duty of man He laid down. Of whom He had attached to His own side twelve in chief, the destined teachers of the nations. One of these having fallen off from Him, on His departure to the Father after the resurrection, He bade the other eleven go and teach the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The Apostles then, forthwith, assuming by lot Matthias as a twelfth into the place of Judas, by the authority of the prophecy in a psalm of David, having obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost for miracles and utterance, first through Judea bore witness to the faith in Jesus Christ, and established Churches, thence proceeding into the world promulgated the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations, and forthwith founded Churches in every city, from which the other Churches thenceforward borrowed the vine-layer† of the faith and the seeds of the doctrine, and are daily borrowing them that they may become Churches; and for this cause they are themselves also counted apostolical, as being the offspring of apostolical Churches. The whole kind must be classed under its original.

* S. Irenæus, i. 10, p. 49; iii. 4, p. 178; iii. 24, p. 223; v. 20, p. 317.

† "A quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ cæteræ exinde Ecclesiæ mutuatæ sunt:" "tradux" is the vine-branch carried along above the ground from the parent stem, so that there is but one tree.

And thus these Churches so many and so great are that one first from the Apostles, whence they all sprang. Thus all are the first and all apostolical, while all being one prove unity; whilst there is between them communication of peace, and the title of brotherhood, and the token of hospitality. And no other principle rules these rights, than the one tradition of the same sacrament."*

Clement of Alexandria, master of the catechetical school (A.D. 189-217):

"This being so, it is clear that heresies coming in subsequently to the most ancient and most true Church, as well as heresies still later than these, are innovations from it, as coins of adulterate stamp. From what has been said, then, I consider it manifest that the true Church, the really ancient Church, is one, in which are enrolled all who are just according to (God's) purpose. For inasmuch as there is one God and one Lord, therefore that which is most highly precious is praised for being alone, being an imitation of the one Principle. The One Church, then, which they try by force to cut up into many heresies, falls under the same category as the nature of the One.† So then we assert that the ancient and Catholic Church is one alone in its foundation, in its idea, in its origin, and in its excellence, collecting by the will of the one God through the one Lord into the unity of one faith, according to the peculiar covenants, or rather to the one covenant at different times, the preordained whom God predestined, having known before the foundation of the world that they would be just. But the excellence of the Church, as the principle of what is concrete, is in unity, surpassing all other things, and having nothing similar or equal to itself."‡

Origen contrasting the doctrine of the Incarna-

* "Sic omnes prima, et apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem; dum est illis communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quæ jura non alia ratio regit quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio." Tert. de Præsc. 20.

† Τῇ γοῦν τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσει συγκληροῦται Ἐκκλησία ἡ μία.

‡ Clemens Alex. Strom. vii. 17, p. 899.

tion, and its corollary that of the Church, with the stoical doctrine of pantheism (A.D. 185-254):

"We say that the divine words assert that the whole Church of God is the Body of Christ, animated by the Son of God, while the limbs of this Body as a whole are particular believers; since as the soul quickens and moves the body, whose nature it is not to have the movement of life from itself, so the Word moving to what is fitting and working the whole Body, the Church, moves likewise each member of the Church, who does nothing without the Word (or without reason)."*

St. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 247-264) to Novatian:

"If as you say it was against your will that you were led away, you will show it by returning of your own will. For it was better to suffer any extremity, in order not to divide the Church of God. And martyrdom endured to prevent schism were not less glorious than that endured to refuse idolatry; but in my opinion more so. For in the one case a man suffers martyrdom for his own single soul, but in the other for the whole Church. And now, if you can either persuade or compel the brethren to be of one mind, your success will be greater than your fault; the one will not be reckoned, but the other will be praised. But if through their obstinacy you cannot succeed, save, O save your own soul."†

As to St. Cyprian (A.D. 248-258), it would be requisite to quote a large portion of his works in order to show the force with which he grasped this idea. And especially his whole treatise on the Unity of the Church is instinct with it. Let it suffice to cite a few words, wherein, like Clement of Alexan-

* Origen cont. Cels. vi. 48, tom. i. 670.

† S. Dionys. Alex. Ep. 2. Gallandi, iii. 512.

dria, he deduces the unity of the Church from the unity of God.

"He who gathers elsewhere than in the Church scatters the Church of Christ. The Lord says, 'I and the Father are one;' and again, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit it is written, 'And these three are one.' And does any one believe that this unity, proceeding from the Divine immutability, cohering by celestial sacraments, can be broken up in the Church, and split by the device of wills in collision? He who holds not this unity, holds not the law of God, holds not the faith of the Father and the Son, holds not life and salvation. This sacrament of unity, this bond of concord inseparably cohering together, is shown in the Gospel when the robe of our Lord Jesus is not divided or rent: but when they cast lots over Christ's garment, as to who should put on Christ, the whole garment is received, and the robe is possessed unbroken and undivided."*

In these words the Donatist schism, and whatever schism claims through possession of the sacraments to possess Christ outside of the unity of the one Body, is beforehand specifically condemned.

Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea (A.D. 309-340), on the words, "Who shall lead me into the strong city?" (Ps. lix. 11):

"Very wonderfully is God said to walk among them not with naked feet, but shod, the word indicating the souls who minister to His will, through whom having wrought the calling of the Gentiles, He established His city everywhere over the earth,—I mean His Catholic Church, and the system of the polity of those who worship God; of which city it is elsewhere said, 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God;' and 'The stream of the river makes glad the city of God.' This fortified city, therefore, when that prophet desired to behold, he said, 'Who will bring me into the fortified city,' or into the city fenced round, as

* S. Cyprian de Unitate, v.

Symmachus renders it; for the gates and doors and bolts of the divine powers guard it round, so that it may undergo no devastation. Therefore did the Saviour say of it, 'I will build My Church upon the rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'"*

St. Alexander, Archbishop of Alexandria (A.D. 313-326), who excommunicated Arius:

"We acknowledge one and one only Catholic Apostolic Church, for ever indestructible, though the whole world should choose to war with it, and bearing away the victory over every most impious insurrection of heretics, since the Master of the House is the ground of our confidence, when He cried: 'Have confidence, I have overcome the world.'"†

St. Athanasius (A.D. 326-373), commenting on Ps. lxxxviii. 38, "His throne is as the sun before me," says:

"Understand by throne of Christ the Church, for He rests upon it. There shall be then, he says, the Church of Christ, refulgent, and enlightening the whole world, and remaining continuously as the sun and the moon; for the passage says so: 'And His throne is as the sun before me, and as the moon perfect for ever, and the faithful witness in heaven.'"‡

And again:

"When Peter says, 'Let the whole house of Israel know that God has made this Jesus, whom you have crucified, both Lord and Christ,' he speaks not of His Godhead that He made Him Lord and Christ, but concerning His Manhood, which is the whole Church, which in Him is Lord and King after His crucifixion, and is anointed unto the kingdom of heaven, to reign together with Him, who for her sake crucified Himself, and assumed her through the form of a servant."§

* Eusebius Cæsar. Coll. nova Patrum, tom. i. 283.
† S. Alexander. Gallandi, iv. 450. ‡ S. Athan. tom. i. 1160 c.
§ De Incarnatione, tom. i. 887 c.

And St. Basil (A.D. 328-379) seems to supply a comment on the preceding passage of St. Athanasius, when he thus carries on the presence of the Holy Ghost from the Person of Christ to the permanent order of His Church:

"For, first, the Spirit was with the very Flesh of the Lord, becoming its unction, and being inseparably present with it, as is written: 'On whomsoever thou seest the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is My beloved Son;' and 'Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit.' Then every action was done by the presence of the Spirit with Him. He was present also when He was tempted by the devil; for 'Jesus was driven by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted.' And when He wrought miracles, the Spirit was inseparably with Him; 'For if I,' said He, 'by the Spirit of God cast out devils.' And when He rose from the dead, the Spirit did not leave Him; for the Lord, restoring man to newness, and giving back to him the grace received from God breathing into him, when He breathed into the face of the Apostles, what did He say?—'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins you remit, they are remitted; and whose you retain, they are retained.' But the ordering of the Church, is it not plainly and unquestionably wrought by the Spirit: 'For He gave to the Church first apostles, then prophets, thirdly teachers; moreover miracles, and gifts of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.' For this ordering is arranged according to the distribution of the Spirit's gifts."*

St. Basil's brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 355-400), says:

"He who has learnt that Christ is Head of the Church, let him consider this before all things, that every head is of the same nature and the same substance with the body subject to it; and there is a growing together of the particular limbs into the whole, producing by a common breathing a sympathy of the parts with

* S. Basil. de Sp. S. 16, tom. iii. 33.

the whole. So, then, if any thing is outside the body, it has lost all communication with the head. Now, by this the Word instructs us that the several limbs should become what the head is by nature, in order to have their due relation to the head. Now we are the limbs, who grow together into the Body of Christ."*

St. Gregory of Nazianzum (A.D. 389), to Julian the Apostate:

'Most foolish, most impious, most ignorant of men! Dost thou set thyself against such an inheritance—against the tree whose fruit has filled the world;† which has overpassed all limits by the cheapness of the Word, and the folly, as you would call it, of the preaching; which has conquered the wise, and silenced demons, and shot beyond time; which is at once both old and new, as you monstrously profess about one of your gods—old to the few, new to the many; old in the shadow, new in the perfection of the mystery dispensed at its proper time. Who, and what, and whence art thou, to match thyself with the mighty inheritance of Christ? not mighty only, but which will never fail, even if madmen worse than thou be found; but will ever advance onwards and rise higher (for my trust is in what is foretold and what is seen)—which He as God created, and as Man inherited; which the law shadowed out, and grace has fulfilled, and Christ inaugurated; which was framed together by prophets, clamped into one by apostles, finished off by evangelists."‡

Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 315-386):

"The Jews having been cast away from grace, the Saviour built out of the nations secondly our holy Church of the Christians, of which He said to Peter: 'And upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' * * * Of this holy Catholic Church Paul writes to Timothy: 'That thou mayest know how thou shouldest behave in the House

* S. Greg. Nys. tom. ii. 721 b. De perfecta Christiani forma.

† κατὰ τοσοῦτου κλήρου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς καρποφορίας.

‡ S. Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 67, tom. i. 107.

of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.' Now, as the name of Church is said of different things, as of the multitude in the theatre of the Ephesians it is written: 'And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly' (or church); and as properly and truly one might call the church of the wicked the meetings of heretics, Marcionists, Manicheans, and all the rest; for this reason the Faith has handed down to you with great care that 'on one holy Catholic Church,' in order that you may avoid these abominable meetings, and continue firm for ever in the holy Catholic Church, in which you were regenerated. And should you ever be in foreign cities, do not simply ask where is the Lord's house* (for all the heresies of the impious try to call their own lairs the Lord's houses), nor simply where is the Church; but where is the Catholic Church, for this is the proper name of this holy mother of us all, who is the bride of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God; * * who, through arms of justice on the right hand and on the left, through honour and dishonour, first in persecutions and afflictions crowned the holy martyrs with many various and richly-flowering coronets of patience; and now, in the times of peace, by the grace of God, has from kings and those in authority her due honour, and from every kind and race of men, while the kings of these different nations have territorial limits to their power; but the holy Catholic Church alone has a power throughout the whole world, which has no territorial limit: for God, as is written, has made her territory Peace."†

And Epiphanius (320-400), after giving a catalogue and description of the heresies which from the beginning had swarmed round this great inheritance of Christ, and endeavoured to overcome and break it up, concludes, in contrast, thus:

"And now, having journeyed over land and sea, the rough

* Ποῦ τὸ Κυριακόν ἐστι: where Κυριακὸν appears manifestly as the Greek word for the material fabric; and so the original of 'Church.'

† Cyril. Cat. xviii. 25, 26, 27.

places of the earth and the difficulties of the wilderness, as we behold the city, let us hasten unto it, the holy Jerusalem, the virgin of Christ and His bride, the safe foundation and rock, both our venerable mother and Christ's bride; we too, using these most apposite words, 'Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will teach us His ways,' and the rest. * * Come then, children of Christ, sons of the holy Church of God, let us also call upon the Bride, not as He called her who is her Bridegroom and Lord and Master, her King, God, and Champion, but as His servants let us call upon her, using the same language as He: Come from Libanus, my spouse; for thou art all fair, and there is not a spot in thee; the paradise of the great Workman, the city of the holy King, the bride of the spotless Christ, the pure virgin espoused in faith to the one only Husband, resplendent and leaning forth as the morning, fair as the moon, elect as the sun, terrible as an army set in array; whom queens have declared blessed, and concubines have hymned, and the daughters praised; she that cometh up from the desert, shining all in white, leaning on her beloved, breathing perfumes; * * of whom it was said, 'Thy name is as oil poured out; therefore have the young maidens loved thee;' thou that standest at the King's right hand in gilded clothing. She has nothing darksome about her; once, indeed, black, but now beautiful and fair: that being in thee, we may rest from the hateful heresies we have passed through, and may find repose from their swelling waves, and be refreshed in thee, our holy mother, the Church, and in the holy teaching which is within thee, and in the holy and only faith of God in truth. * * * And, first of all, we must state that the God who is over all is ours who are born of this holy Church; for this is the first demonstration of the truth, and foundation of the belief of this only virgin and holy and blameless dove. * * For the Church is begotten of one faith, and brought forth through the Holy Ghost one to one, and one to her mother."*

St. Chrysostom (A.D. 347-407):

* S. Epiph. adv. Hær. tom. i. 1078, 9, 80, 83.

"Withdraw not from the Church, for nothing is stronger than the Church. The Church is thy hope; the Church is thy salvation; the Church is thy refuge. She is loftier than the heaven, she is broader than the earth. She never grows old, but is always in her prime. Thus the Scripture, to manifest her solidity and impregnability, calls her the Mountain; for her incorruptibility, the Virgin; for her preciousness, the Queen; for her kindred with God, the Daughter; for her fecundity, calls her who was barren the bearer of seven: a thousand names to convey her nobility. For as her Lord has many names, and is called Father, and Way, and Life, and Light, and Arm, and Propitiation, and Foundation, and Door, and Sinless, and Treasure, and Lord, and God, and Son, and Only-begotten, and Form of God, and Image of God; does one name suffice to present the whole? Not so; but a thousand names are used to teach us somewhat about God, though it be but little. So too the Church is called many names. * * * Did God desire a harlot? yes, a harlot, our nature, I mean. * * Such a desire in man destroys its object; but God's desire is the salvation of the desired. Did He, that is such and so great, desire a harlot? And why? To become her Bridegroom. What does He do? He sends not to her any of His servants; He sends no angel to the harlot, no archangel, nor cherubim, nor seraphim; but He comes Himself, the Lover. * * He takes her, He espouses her, and gives her, what? a ring; what ring? the Holy Ghost. * * Then He saith, 'Did I not plant thee in Paradise?' She answers, 'Yes.' 'And how didst thou fall thence?' 'The devil came and cast me out of Paradise.' 'Thou wast planted in Paradise, and he cast thee out: behold, I plant thee in Myself; I carry thee. * * I have planted thee in Myself:' therefore he says, 'I am the root; you are the branches.'"*

St. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria (A.D. 412-444):

"That the Church is one, and one the mystery of Christ, and the Sacrifice not lawful, but rather to be rejected, and powerless to please God, when it is not offered in the Church, the law

* S. Chrys. Hom. de capto Eutropio, tom. iii. 391 d, 395 c, 396 b-c.

showed to us plainly, by forbidding that sacrifices should be offered without the sacred tabernacle."

"Christ cannot be divided. Hence too the Church is called the Body of Christ, and we members in particular, as Paul understands it. For we are all united to the one Christ by His holy Body, inasmuch as we receive the One and Indivisible into our own bodies; and so we owe our own members rather to Him than to ourselves. * * For if in us, that of ourselves are many, in each Christ makes to dwell the Spirit of His Father and His own, yet is this one and indivisible Spirit drawing by Himself into unity us, that in our separate existence are distinct spirits, and causing all to appear as one thing in Himself. For as the power of the holy Flesh makes those in whom it may be concorporate, similarly, I conceive, the one Spirit of God, who dwells indivisible in all, draws all together into spiritual unity. Whence again St. Paul addressed us: 'Supporting one another in charity, careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; one Body and one Spirit,' &c."*

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus (A.D. 423-457), on the 47th Psalm:

"'Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, in the city of our God, in His holy mountain.' As we have said, Scripture often calls city not the material buildings, but the polity; so now it says that the Lord of all is shown to be great by what He has done for His own city, which the depth of its doctrines has made illustrious, as seated on a lofty and mighty mountain. For a city set upon a mountain, says the Lord, cannot be hidden. 'Rooting it well, for the exultation of the whole earth.' For He hath built it well and solidly, for the joy of the whole earth, 'on the foundation,' as the Apostle says, 'of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone.' And as the Lord Himself to Peter: 'And upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' The expression 'rooting well' stands for 'founding solidly;' so that

* S. Cyril, de Adorat. in Sp. et Ver. 13, tom. i. pp. 2, 474; and in Joan. ii. tom. iv. p. 999.

it remains for ever motionless and unshaken. * * 'God is known in her houses, when He supports her.' One is the Church, through every land and sea; therefore in our prayers we say, 'For the holy and only Catholic and Apostolic Church, from one end of the earth to the other.' Again, she is divided into cities, villages, and fields, which the prophetic word called houses. As each city has many distinct houses, yet is called one city, so there are churches by the thousand and innumerable; but all belong in common to one, united by the harmony of the true doctrines. In these he says that the God of the universe manifests Himself, supplying His own proper help: for 'God is known in her houses, when He supports her.' Then he foretells the insurrections which are to be, and the conversions of the enemy: 'For, lo, the kings of the earth assembled themselves, they gathered together: they saw, and were struck with wonder.' They assembled to make war with her; but seeing how invincible was she whom they warred against, they were struck with consternation. 'They were confounded, they were shaken: fear seized then upon them, and the pains as of a woman with child,' &c. Seeing the impregnable foundations of the Church, and understanding the unerring truth of the promise, they were seized with fear and trembling; like men crossing the backs of the sea, and tossed with storms, and expecting utter destruction. So, ceasing from war and assault, they themselves proclaim the power of her whom they attacked, and cry, 'As we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of Hosts, in the city of our God.' For, unwilling to receive the prophecies concerning her, we have seen by the force of facts their truth. 'God hath founded her for ever;' for it is His own voice, 'And on this rock,' &c. The prophetic word having thus shown the conversion of her enemies, foretells what words those who have gained salvation will use to praise their Benefactor: 'We have received, O God, Thy mercy in the midst of Thy people.' We look, he says, for this Thine aid, O Lord, knowing the unerring truth of Thy promises; for it is Thou who hast said, 'I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'"*

* Theodoret in Ps. xlvii. tom. i. 579-581.

Pacian, Bishop of Barcelona (A.D. 373 to about 391):

"Come, you say, let us contend with facts and argument. I for my part have been hitherto free from all anxiety; have been content with the continued existence itself of the Church, and with the peacefulness of the ancient congregation. The arts of discord are unknown to me; I have been no searcher after arguments for disputation. You, after being separated from the rest of the body, and divided from your Mother, that you may give a reason for what you have done, have become an assiduous searcher and inquirer into all the hidden recesses of books: what is hidden you explore; what is at rest you disturb; our fathers, unchallenged, entered into no dispute; our very security sought no arms: what true defence on your side can you bring? * * * You state, and rightly indeed, that 'the Church is a people renewed of water and the Holy Ghost,' and free from denying the name of Christ, the temple and house of God, the pillar and ground of the truth, a holy virgin of most pure life, the Spouse of Christ, of His bones and of His flesh, not having spot or wrinkle, preserving entire the laws of the gospels.' Which of us denies this? Nay, we say further, the Church is the Queen, with vesture rich with gold and embroidery; the fruitful Vine on the sides of the house of the Lord; the Mother of young maidens without number; the one fair and perfect Dove of her mother; the very Mother of all built on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone; a great house enriched with every variety of vessels. But this of ours hereafter; and meanwhile let us consider your words: 'The Church is a people born again of water and the Holy Ghost.' Well, who has closed up the Fountain of God? who has carried away the Spirit (from me)? Yea, rather with us is the living water which springs from Christ: whilst thou, separated from the perpetual fountain, whence hast thou thy birth? So the Holy Ghost has not departed from the chief mother: whence came He to thee? unless it be that He followed your dissent, and having abandoned so many priests, content with an unconsecrated chair, has preferred the broken cistern

of an adulterated fountain. * * * But come, proceed with the rest: 'The Church is the Body of Christ;' the Body, mind, not a member: the Body framed into one out of many parts and members, according to that of the Apostle, 'for the Body is not one member but many:' wherefore the Church is the full body, both a body and a compact body, and a body now spread over the whole world; like a city, I mean, whose parts form one whole; not as you Novatians, an unnatural kind of accumulated excrescence and part, separated from the rest of the body," &c. "But the heretic rends, cuts, injures, crumples the Lord's garment, that is, the Church of Christ."*

Optatus, Bishop of Milevis (A.D. 370):

"You, Parmenianus, have said that the Church is one, to the exclusion of heretics; but you have not chosen to acknowledge where that Church is. * * * It is for me to state which or where is that one Church, which is the Church, since besides that one there is none other. * * * You have said that with heretics the marks† of the Church cannot be; and you say truly, for we know that the churches of every one of the heretics are prostituted, are without any lawful sacraments, and without the rites of an honourable marriage; churches which Christ repudiates as unnecessary, He being the Spouse of one Church, as in the Canticle of Canticles Himself testifies; who in that He praises one condemns all others, because, besides the one which is the true Catholic (Church), the rest that are among heretics think themselves to be, though they exist not,‡ as He points out that one is His Dove, the same His chosen Spouse, the same the Garden enclosed and the Fountain sealed up; so that all heretics have neither the keys, which Peter alone received; nor the ring, with which the Fountain is said to be sealed up; nor is there any one of them to whom that Garden belongs wherein God plants His shoots. * * * In Africa too, as in the other provinces, there was but one Church, before it was divided by the ordainers of Majorinus,

* S. Pacian, ep. 3. Gallandi, vii. 262-4.

† "Dotes;" her dowry as the Bride of Christ.

‡ "Cæteræ apud hæreticos putantur esse, sed non sunt."

in whose chair you now sit as heir. We have to see who remained in the root with the whole world;* who went out; who established another chair, which till then had no existence; who set up altar against altar; who gave ordination whilst the one already ordained was still living; who lies under the sentence of John the Apostle, who said that many Antichrists would go out, because they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us."†

Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers (A.D. 353-367):

"But since the Body of the Church is one, not by a kind of confused mixture of bodies, nor by each of them being gathered together into an indistinguishable heap and shapeless mass, but we are all one (Body) through unity of faith,‡ through the society of charity, through concord of works and will, through the one gift of the sacrament in all, to which Paul exhorts us, saying, 'I beseech you, brethren, that you be all of one mind, exercising the same charity;' and when it shall be, as is written, 'the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul,' then shall we be the City of God, then the holy Jerusalem, because Jerusalem is built as a city whose participation is of the self-same thing. But those who dissent from the assembly of the saints, and urged on by their sins, separate themselves from the Body of the Church, have no participation in this holy house, because the participation of this city is of the self-same thing: for those who are of one mind through fellowship of a perfect city, cannot have participation in what is different, but in what is the same. All, therefore, who will be one (Body) will be in that (City), as the psalm testifies, for it says, 'Thither did the tribes go up;' the tribes, not one, but many."§

* "Videndum est quis in radice cum toto orbe manserit."

† S. Optatus de Schis. Donat. i. 6, 7, 10, 15.

‡ "Quia unum Ecclesiæ corpus est, non quadam corporum confusione permixtum, neque singulis in indiscretum acervum et informem cumulum adunatis, sed per fidei unitatem."

§ S. Hilar. in Ps. cxxi. p. 386.

St. Ambrose (A.D. 340-397):

On the words, "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be laid waste." "The cause of this saying is, that He was said to cast out devils in Beelzebub, the chief of the devils, in order that He might show His own kingdom to be indivisible and perpetual. * * * For how, when the Faith is cleft in twain, can the kingdom remain undivided? * * And therefore the kingdom of the Church shall remain for ever, because its faith is indivisible, its body one: for there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all. * * * Whence also understand, that all heretics and schismatics are separated from the kingdom of God and from the Church. And so it is perfectly clear that all meetings of schismatics and heretics are not of God but of the unclean spirit." And a little further on, upon the verse, "As Jonas was a sign to the Ninevites." "Here too, after condemning the people of the Jews, the mystery of the Church is evidently expressed, who is gathered together from the ends of the whole world in the Ninevites by penitence, and in the Queen of the South by zeal to obtain wisdom, in order that she may learn the words of the peaceful Solomon: truly a Queen whose kingdom is indivisible, rising up into one body out of diverse and distant peoples." And the subjects of this queen he elsewhere calls "a people the instrument of the divine operation, in whom reëchoes the strain of the Divine Oracle, and within which the Spirit of God works, that temple the shrine of the Trinity, the home of sanctity, the holy Church."*

St. Jerome (A.D. 331-420), on Ephes. v. 31:

"'The last Adam is become a vivifying Spirit:' and as from Adam and his wife the whole race of men is born, so from Christ and the Church the whole multitude of believers is generated; which, being made the one Body of the Church, is again placed in the side of Christ, and fills the place of a rib, and is made the one Body of the Man; the Lord Himself asking this in the Gospel,

* S. Ambrose super Luc. vii. 91, 95, 96, tom. i. 1431, and Hexaemeron, 3, 1, tom. i. 34.

'Father, grant that as I and Thou are one thing, so they also may be one thing in Us.'"

And elsewhere:

"Let one Eve be the mother of all the living, and one Church the parent of all Christians."

And again:

"I might spend the day in such argumentation, and drain utterly dry all the streamlets of their assertions, by the Sun alone of the Church." And "they then shall fall who have given themselves to an earthly dwelling, and whose tap-root is fixed in earthly works; and they shall not fall who have their seat in the whole world* and rest in the Church, which is the dwelling-place of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."†

Paulus Orosius (A.D. 414):

"God, who is one, delivered one faith, spread one Church over the whole world: this He regards, this loves, this defends. Let a man hide himself under whatever name he pleases: if he be not associated with this Church, he is an alien; if he assail her, an enemy."

"For we, under one Head, which is Christ, and under one Church, which is Christ, are all brethren, and one Body in Christ."‡

Vincent of Lerins died about A.D. 445.

"'If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down.' Why so? 'For it is written,' saith he. We are diligently to weigh the doctrine of this place, and to keep it in mind, that by so notable an example of Gospel authority we may in no wise doubt, when

* "Qui sedent in orbe terrarum;" which reminds one of St. Augustine's "securus judicat orbis terrarum."

† S. Jerome, in Ephes. v. 31, tom. vii. 660; Ep. 123, ad Ageruchiam, tom. i. 902; adv. Luciferianos, 27, tom. ii. 201; in Esaiam xxvi. 18, tom. iv. 356.

‡ Paulus Orosius, Hist. vii. 33. Gallandi, ix. 150; and De Arbitrii Libertate, 31; ib. tom. ix. 168.

we see any allege some place of the Apostles or prophets against the Catholic Faith, but that by their mouth the devil himself doth speak. For as at that time the head spake unto the Head, so now the members speak unto the members; that is, the members of the devil unto the members of Christ, the faithless unto the faithful, the sacrilegious unto the religious, to conclude, heretics to Catholics. But what, finally, does he say? 'If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down.' That is to say, Thou desirest to be the Son of God, and to enjoy the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven; 'cast Thyself down,' that is, from the doctrine and tradition of that high and lofty Church which is reputed to be even the temple of God. And should one ask any one of these heretics, when he would so persuade them, How do you prove and convince me that I ought to forsake the universal and ancient faith of the Catholic Church, he replies at once, 'It is written' And forthwith he will allege you a thousand testimonies, a thousand examples, a thousand authorities, out of the Law, out of the Psalms, out of the Apostles, out of the Prophets, by which, expounded after a new and evil fashion, he would cast headlong the unhappy soul from the tower of the Catholic Church into the abyss and prison-house of heresy."*

St. Augustine (A.D. 354-430):

"But since the Body of Christ is both Temple and House and City, so He who is the Head of the Body is likewise the Indweller of the House, and the Sanctifier of the Temple, and the King of the City. As the Church is all these things, so Christ is all those."

And again:

"Moreover, men once born are transferred not by works of justice which they have done, but by being born again through grace into the framework of the Body of Christ, as into the living structure of the Temple of God, which is His Church; and this, as it were, from a mass of ruin into the compactness of a building.

* Contr. Hæres. 26.

For beside this building which is being constructed unto beatification for the eternal dwelling-place of God, the life of every man is unhappy, and rather to be termed death than life. Whoever, then, will be dwelt in by God, that the wrath of God may not remain upon him, will not be an alien from this Body, from this Temple, from this City."*

St. Leo the Great, Pope (A.D. 440-461):

"It is beyond question that human nature has been taken into such a connection by the Son of God, that not only in that Man who is the Firstborn of all creation, but likewise in all His Saints, there is one and the same Christ; and as the Head cannot be divided from the limbs, so neither the limbs from the Head. For though it belong not to this life, but to that of eternity, that God be all in all, yet even now He is the undivided inhabitant of His Temple, which is the Church, as He Himself promised: 'Behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world;' and as the Apostle says in harmony with Him, 'He is the Head of the Body, the Church."†

Let us first take particular expressions of the Fathers in the extracts quoted above, and then give a general summary of them.

Thus Clement, the disciple of St. Peter and St. Paul, enforces the words of the latter: "Why do we raise a sedition against our own body," that body being the Body of Christ, because "there is one God and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us"? So St. Hermas sees the Church militant in a tower built upon Christ's rock, so evenly jointed together that it seemed to be wrought out of one stone, for which especially its Builder rejoiced

* S. Augustine, in Ps. cxxxi. tom. iv. 1473 b; Epist. 187, 33, tom. ii. 689 d.

† S. Leo, Serm. 12, in Pass. 3.

over it. And Irenæus, who almost touches St. John through his teacher Polycarp, says, that as the natural light is sphered in the sun, so the light of Divine truth in the Church; that the Church is the storehouse of truth; that where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace; but the Spirit is truth; that the Church is the seven-branched candlestick, bearing Christ's light; that as the sun revolves in its orbit, so there is one tradition of the truth, which the Church presents to the world. Thus richly does Irenæus unfold the thought of Ignatius of Antioch, the contemporary of Apostles, "where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church;" and that as Christ is the mind (*γνώμη*) of the Father, so the Bishops throughout the world are the mind of Christ; and "haste together then all as *to the temple of God*, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ;" and "as many as come to the unity of the Church, these also shall be of God." And that other thought of another disciple of Apostles:*

"This is He who is from the beginning, who appeared as one new, who was found (in time), and is ever being freshly born in the hearts of saints, *through whom the Church receives her treasure, and grace expanding is multiplied in the saints; so that the grace of the Church exults*, which grace not grieving, you will learn what the Word utters."

Human languages are different, says the same Irenæus, but every where throughout the earth, as in one house of faith, "the power of the tradition

* The author of the letter to Diognetus.

is one and the same;" and Tertullian echoes from Africa, "No other principle rules these rights than the one tradition of the same sacrament;" and Cyprian takes up his master's words: "This sacrament of unity, this bond of concord, inseparably cohering together, is shown in the robe of our Lord, possessed unbroken and undivided;" whence Augustine and Leo carry it on, and describe "the firm framework of our unity;" and so all of them express that great tower of St. Hermas, rising from the rock, as built of one stone. "The Church," says Clement from Alexandria, "is one alone in her foundation, in her idea, in her origin, in her excellence: she is one because the Godhead is one;" and St. Cyprian replies, "One because the Godhead is one, and because the Holy Trinity is one." "She is," says Origen, "the Body of Christ, animated by the Son of God, as the soul quickens and moves the human body." "She is the fortified, impregnable city," repeat Eusebius of Cæsarea, Hilary, Theodoret, Augustine, from Palestine, Gaul, the far East and Africa, because Christ is her founder and inhabitant; which Alexander, of Alexandria, expresses in almost the same form: "She is for ever indestructible, though the whole world should choose to war with her, and bears away the victory over every most impious insurrection of heretics, because the *Master of the House* is the ground of her confidence;" that is, being "the House of God" (1 Tim. iv. 15), the Master of the House is always in her. "She

is," says Athanasius, "the manhood of Christ, in Him having domination and royal power after His crucifixion, and anointed to be His kingdom." Irenæus, Athanasius, and Jerome, all call her the Sun: Irenæus, as moving in one orbit unswervingly, enlightening all the earth; Athanasius, as the faithful witness in heaven, lasting for ever; Jerome, as drying up all the streamlets of error with her single light and heat. No image can more strongly than this represent her unity, universality, and perpetuity; and again her prerogative to be the fountain of grace and truth, as God's creature, in whom is the Word made Flesh. "She is," says Gregory of Nazianzum, "the great inheritance of Christ;" thus using Augustine's favourite expression against the Donatists; and he adds, "the fruitfulness of the Tree that fills the world," which is St. Augustine's Vine; and St. Cyril of Jerusalem specially notes that, "while the kings of the different nations have territorial limits to their power, the Holy Catholic Church alone has a power throughout the whole world which has no territorial limit."

Now, passing from single expressions of particular Fathers, let us see what they all agree in. It may be thus summed up. As there is one only Christ, so there is one only Church; as the Church is one, because Christ is one, so it is one Body, because He has taken a Body: it is therefore the work of His Incarnation, and to dissolve this Body is to dissolve Christ; for as Christ cannot be divided, so

neither the Church; the Church, as His Body, is the receptacle of His truth and grace. As the Holy Spirit dwelt in Christ upon earth, so He dwells in the permanent order of the Church's ministry, the perpetual existence of which, in the unity of His Body, is the safeguard against error. Through this ministry, as the joints and ligaments of this one Body, the life of Christ descends from the Head to the members, and Christ's life is Truth and Grace. Thus the Holy Ghost dwells in the Church permanently, as in a home, as in a shrine, as in the Body of Christ, as the marriage-ring with which she is espoused as His Bride: but the same Spirit dwells in particular men only as members of the Body, and so long as they continue to be members of it; as dwellers in the House, and so long as they continue to dwell in it; as worshippers in the Shrine, and so long as they continue to worship in it. By virtue of this union with Christ, as of the Body with the Head, the Church possesses the great function of receiving, teaching, unfolding, and preserving the Truth, and of communicating the Grace by which the Truth is held; and the mode of this union is the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in her, as the Spirit of the Head. Thus, belief in our Lord and His Incarnation is blent and fused throughout with belief in the unity, truth, grace, stability of the Church: the Head and the Body stand together.

Such is the way in which the whole mass of ancient writers, from the beginning of Christianity down

to the time of St. Augustine and the Council of Chalcedon, concur in the doctrine which he urged and applied against the great Donatist schism in his native country, and which I have exhibited above in the two expressions, "This is She who alone holds and possesses all the power of her Bridegroom and her Lord;" and "whatever belonging to the Church is possessed, avails not to salvation outside the Church." It would be easy to multiply to any extent these expressions. If there be any one doctrine in the whole range of Christian doctrines to which the Vincentian canon, "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," may be applied with the utmost rigour, it is this. I stop at the Council of Chalcedon simply because one must stop somewhere, and also because Dr. Pusey appeals to the "undivided" Church; and I challenge him to produce a single writer out of that Church who admits that the Church can cease to be one, universal, and perpetual, holding for ever the Truth and the Grace of her Lord, that is, continuing to be one Body, as well as one Spirit. Heretics in abundance he will find asserting this, looking for the truth elsewhere, in reason, or in their private interpretation of Scripture, or in the learning or knowledge of particular persons: but not one writer whom he himself will accept as Catholic.

Now if this is so, I ask, Is it not in the highest degree unpatristic to reject this doctrine? Is it not to read the Fathers as the Jews read the Scriptures, with a veil upon the heart, and as they abhor the

suffering Christ, so not to recognise the indivisible Christ? What inconsistency can be greater than to appeal to the "undivided" Church, and to deny that one doctrine which formed its life and strength, to which its testimonies are most exuberant, in which its faith is full and overflowing; nay, which is the basis of its belief in all other doctrines? All these men, whom Dr. Pusey loves, saw the victory of Christ over the heathen world precisely in this, that out of all the nations of the earth, sunk in idolatry and misbelief, He had gathered in organic unity and filled with His Spirit one Church. This to them was the proof of His power; this the mark of His Godhead. What the Fathers all say is: As there is one only Christ, so there is one only Church. Will it be long before modern infidelity will say: If there is not any Church, neither is there any Christ? If the argument from the unity of the Lord's Body is conclusive, is not the argument from the dissolution of the Lord's Body conclusive also? And on which side will Dr. Pusey stand?

But let us consider the circumstances under which the Fathers bore witness to this indivisible unity of the Church.

Was there ever a time when she had not competitors, opponents, assailants, who attacked her in the very name of her Lord? Even in the time of the Apostles she began to be surrounded with a swarm of heresies: St. John and St. Paul speak of these as already in existence; while the parable of

the wheat and the cockle prophesies them as to be, and to be unto the end. With the growth of the Church corresponded the multitude of heresies. Epiphanius, in the course of 300 years, numbers eighty of them. All these claimed to be Christian; all claimed to hold the pure doctrine of Christ, and to understand the Scriptures better than the Church. In the midst of all these, and because of them, the Fathers hold their decisive doctrine that the Church is the one Body of Christ, the one Temple of God, in which the Holy Spirit dwells. The very mark of the Church is that she is the "Lily among thorns:" so St. Augustine says:

"Not all heretics are over the whole face of the earth, but yet there are heretics over the whole face of the earth: some here, some there, but no place without them. They do not even know each other. There is one sect in Africa; another heresy in the East; another in Egypt; another in Mesopotamia. There are different heresies in different places, but one mother, Pride, bore them all, as our one mother, the Catholic Church, bears all faithful Christians spread through the whole world. Wonder not, then, if pride engender separation, as charity bears unity. Yet the Catholic Mother, the Shepherd Himself, who is in her, every where seeks out the wandering, strengthens the weak, heals the sick, binds up the broken, these from one quarter, those from another, who do not know each other. She, however, knows them all, because she is spread among them all. For instance, there is the party of Donatus in Africa, but not the Eunomians; the Catholic Church, however, is here, with the party of Donatus. In the East there are Eunomians, but no Donatists; yet with the Eunomians there is the Catholic Church; she is there as the Vine spreading every where in her increase; they are there, like useless vine-branches, cut off by the husbandman's pruning-knife for their

barrenness, which looked to be thought the Vine, but not for the pruning. * * * Those branches, then, lie where they were cut off; but the Vine, increasing every where, knows both the branches which have remained in her, and those which were cut off, lying by her."*

Had not these heresies a good deal to say for themselves in their day? First of all was their appeal to the Bible. Vincent of Lerins tells us:

"Haply some man may demand whether heretics also use the testimony of holy Scripture. Assuredly they do, and that very earnestly, for a man may behold them ranging in every part of the sacred volume, in Moses, in the Kings, in the Psalms, in the Apostles, in the Gospels, in the Prophets; for whether amongst their own brethren or with strangers, whether in private or in public, whether in talking or in writing, whether in convivial meetings or abroad in the streets, they scarcely ever allege any thing of their own which they do not pretend to draw out by words of Sacred Scripture. Read the tracts of Paul of Samosata, of Priscillian, Eunomius, Jovinian, and the rest of such-like pests, and you shall find through all their works a huge heap of examples, scarce a page omitted which is not coloured and painted with the sayings of the New or the Old Testament."†

Nor did they only claim to have Scripture on their side, as St. Augustine tells us in another place. Speaking on that verse in the Proverbs, "Many daughters have gathered together riches; thou hast surpassed them all," he says:

"Who are those other daughters? There are bad daughters, which are heresies. Why daughters? Because they also were born of that one. But bad daughters, daughters not in likeness of conduct, but in likeness of sacraments; for these too have our

* S. Aug. Serm. 46, tom. v. 234.
† Contra Hæres. 25.

sacraments, have our Scriptures, have our amen and alleluia: most of them have our creed, many have our baptism; therefore are they daughters. But would you like to hear what is said elsewhere to this woman in the Canticle of Canticles? 'As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.' It is strange: he calls the same thorns and daughters. And do those thorns work power? Certainly. Do you not see how heresies likewise pray, fast, give alms, praise Christ? I can say that they have false prophets, of whom it was said, 'They do many signs and wonders, to deceive, if possible, even the elect. So I have told you beforehand.' The thorns also work power, of which it is said, 'Have we not in Thy name eaten and drunken, and in Thy name wrought many miracles?' We have eaten and drunken he would not say of common food, you know of what food and drink he might say it. And we have done many miracles: many daughters work power; we deny it not: thorns too have the flower, but not the fruit,"*

that is, as he goes on to explain, the fruit of charity, which he recognises only in unity.

But in spite of all these pretensions—all these goods of the Church possessed by those outside of the Church, he says in another place:

"There are some, of those who are called Christians, and are not Christians, whom the Church has half digested, like excrement, as are all heresies and all schisms, which are likewise compared to fruitless branches cut off from the Vine, and to straw carried off by the wind from the threshing-floor before winnowing."†

Now, though there had been a crop of schisms and heresies from the beginning, though not only laymen, but individual priests and bishops had fallen into heresy, yet the occasion on which St. Augustine

* S. Aug. Serm. 37, tom. v. 192 b. † Serm. 5, tom. v. 28 c.

applied the universal doctrine of unity to the Donatists was the first on which a large mass, very like a National Church in bulk and peculiar feelings, had broken off from the Church, with its full organisation of bishops, priests, and laity.* Did their numbers, or their cohesion, or their having subsisted for three generations, or their possessing a complete hierarchy, an unquestioned succession, an identical Faith with that of the Catholic Church, modify in any respect the language of St. Augustine towards them? We have seen that the contrary to this was the fact. He compared their sacraments to the king's standards borne in insurrection against the king, which only made the guilt of the insurgents the heavier. Scarcely was St. Augustine dead when another great heresy, headed by an Archbishop of Constantinople — the Nestorian — carried a multitude of bishops and of people out of the Church; and twenty years later a third, headed this time by an Archbishop of Alexandria, was so disastrous as to sever the greater part of the people of Egypt, with their bishops, from the unity of the one Body. St. Cyril, the great Doctor of the Incarnation, had been but a few years in his grave when the mass of his people, claiming to represent his own doctrine, bearing as their standard his very formula, "One Nature Incarnate of God the Word"†—fell away.

* The Arian heresy, which occurred at the same time, was rather a struggle for mastery within the Church, when heresy put forth the utmost power which it has ever exerted, until it was at last cast out.

† *μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη.*

We have here, then, three great communities—the Donatist, the Nestorian, the Monophysite—departing from the Church, and carrying with them, each of the three, the complete doctrine and discipline of the Church, save in the one point which formed their heresy; carrying with them, too, a complete hierarchy. One of these, the Nestorian, so flourished in numbers and extent, "that, in the time of the Caliphs, it was at the head of as many as twenty-five archbishops; its communion extended from China to Jerusalem."* Another, the Monophysite, continued to hold the majority in Egypt down to the time of the Mohammedan invasion, and long afterwards. The numbers of these two communions at one time "are said to have surpassed those of the Greek and Latin Churches together."†

Yet all these three, being cut off from the one Church—the Donatist as we have seen; the Nestorians by the third Council, that of Ephesus; the Eutychians by the fourth, that of Chalcedon—were no longer allowed by any Father to possess the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost: they had gone out of the Temple in which He dwelt, and left the House where alone was the presence of the Master of the House. Dr. Pusey entirely gives them up; he has no pity on them; for the Donatists are extinct, the Nestorians have dwindled to a miserable flock wandering in the mountains of Kurdistan, and a remnant of the Eutychians lingers on in the Coptic Patriarch

* Newman on Development, p. 292. † Ibid.

of Alexandria; whereas Dr. Pusey prefers his Greek antagonist. But were these three communities existing now in their original bulk and vigour, as when they left the Church, or as they existed long afterwards, and were Dr. Pusey's affections, his habits, and all the interests of his life centred in one of them, then should we have glowing language, describing the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Donatists, the Nestorians, and the Monophysites, on the other, as "'like the river which went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.' They come from the fountain of blessedness; they flow down to the ocean of the eternal love of God; they water the parched land; they cool and refresh the weary and the thirsty in the places which God has appointed for them, with the one stream coming down from Him." Doubtless God appointed Africa for the Donatists, and Egypt for the Monophysites, and Asia for the Nestorians, as He appointed England for the Anglicans; and I am sure those communities were far nearer to the Catholic Church of their day than the community for which Dr. Pusey pleads, *taken as a whole*—in which way Dr. Pusey never chooses to take it—is to either the Greek communion or the Catholic Church; all which three he supposes to form together, "before the throne of God, one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church," while on earth they neither hold the same faith, nor have communion with each other; and therefore are neither one Body nor one Spirit.

And here one cannot but notice an assumption which runs all through Dr. Pusey's book, being one of those many instances in which he refuses to look in the face such facts of history as are disagreeable to him; as, for instance, on the one hand, the civil supremacy which rules his own community, or, on the other hand, the immense body of proof which supports the Principate of the Apostolic Chair, ruling by Divine institution the Catholic Church. The complete and accurate consideration of these two supremacies, which determine, in fact, the position of his community as a whole, he shirks. They have been brought before him again and again; but he merely closes his eyes. In the same way, then, with determined blindness to all the parties which internally distract his community (the only connection of which with each other lies in that civil supremacy which he ignores), he takes up, from the beginning to the end of his book, a position which is ridiculous to those who know the real condition of that community; for, with his singular views, he, being *frustum de frusto*, assumes to represent the whole *frustum*, self-commissioned as he is in this very representation, while he is really speaking at the utmost for one-tenth part* of a dissolving heresy, which in its single bosom contains more contradictions than Donatists, Nestorians, and Monophysites put together, and is in truth the self-acknowledged, often the proudly-vindicated, domain of individual self-will and individual opinion,

* So estimated lately by the *Spectator*.

and represents the theological varieties of the English mind, as the daily press its political parties; and so is called the National Church, as embracing the multitudinous heresies of the nation, and giving to each their respective influence, while it links them all together in a civil unity.

And thus, again, a particular interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, which was presented some twenty-five years ago by its author only as one of several allowable varieties, yet even so was rejected by the vast majority of Bishops, clergy, and people as not within the range of permission, Dr. Pusey now borrows from that author, disowning it, and produces as the proper interpretation of the whole community; and by the aid of this subterfuge, as if it was a true picture of the life of this community during the three hundred years of its existence, confers "a truth and office" upon what he calls the English Church, being his conception not of what it is, or even of what it ever was, but of what it ought to be. This conception, then, of something which should be, but is not, and has never been, is presented by him on one side over against a caricature of the Catholic Church on the other; and this insult to truth, on the one side and on the other, he terms an *Eirenicon*, while it is constructed as a scarecrow to frighten troubled consciences from seeking their true home; and in it devotions sanctioned by himself for private practice are mentioned as derogatory to the honour of our Lord when used by Catholics. I can only apply to the

whole proceeding the words of an ancient Father, believing assuredly, as St. Irenæus did, that "Christ will judge those who work schisms, being devoid of the charity of God, and seeking their own private advantage, but not the unity of the Church, and who for little and self-exalting reasons cut and divide, and, so far as in them lies, destroy the great and glorious Body of Christ; those who speak peace and work war, truly straining out the gnat and swallowing down the camel. For no such correction can possibly take place by them as can equal the injury of schism."*

But principles, after all, are not touched by time; a thousand years leave them as sure as they were at the beginning: they yield not even to that most fearful of all powers in resistance to the truth, which St. Augustine saw in the Donatists,—that "obstinate inveterateness of an obdurate habit." If Dr. Pusey is real and true in professing obedience to an "undivided" Church, if he is not merely exercising an act of private judgment, which he knows must be perpetual and beyond question, because no one can resuscitate his "undivided" Church and make it speak to him as a living authority; but if he really means to hold what the "undivided" Church held, let him then

* S. Irenæus, iv. 33, 7. Ἀνακρινεῖ δὲ τοὺς τὰ σχίσματα ἐργαζομένους, κενοὺς ὄντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπης, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελὲς σκοποῦντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ διὰ μικρὰς καὶ τὰς ὑψώσας αἰτίας τὸ μέγα καὶ ἔνδοξον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τέμνοντας, καὶ διαιροῦντας, καὶ ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦντας· τοὺς εἰρήνην λαλοῦντας καὶ πόλεμον ἐργαζομένους, ἀληθῶς διϋλίζοντας τὸν κώνωπα, τὸν δὲ κάμηλον καταπίνοντας· οὐδεμία δὲ τηλικαύτη δίναται πρὸς αὐτῶν κατόρθωσις γενέσθαι, ἡλίκη τοῦ σχίσματός ἐστιν ἡ βλάβη.

accept the first and most elementary of its doctrines, viz. that it is *indivisible*. This is the exact measure of the divergence between us and him: he allows that there once was an "undivided" Church; we believe an indivisible Church, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; because it is the Body of that Lord who is *Id Ipsum*.

Now the conclusion of all that I have said is this. We have an authority recognised by both in the great Council of Chalcedon. In that Council, and in all the four hundred years and more since the Ascension which preceded it, the indivisible unity of the Church, its perpetual existence as one Body and one Spirit, was an universal belief, and the foundation of all other belief. And this belief had been expressed and consecrated by our Lord when He called Himself the Vine, and His disciples the Vine-branches. The expression became forthwith of perpetual usage among the Christian people. Thus St. Justin said, "The Vine planted by God and the Saviour is His people." Tertullian spoke of the Vine-layer of the faith carried upon one root throughout the world; St. Cyprian, of the Tree which has many branches extending over the earth, but "one strength founded on the root holding it together;" St. Gregory of Nazianzum, "of the Tree whose fruit filled the world;" Pacian, "of the fruitful Vine on the sides of the House of the Lord;" Chrysostom, "I have planted Thee in myself; therefore He saith, I am the root; you are the branches;"

Augustine, "of that Vine which grew and filled all lands," and of which all heresies and schisms were the fruitless lopped-off branches. So the great Council used this same expression, and spoke of the guardianship of the Vine. But to whom did it attribute this Guardianship? To the successor of St. Peter, and that as a trust imposed on him by our Lord Himself. The great Council which held the indivisible unity of the Body, the "sacramentum unitatis," saw in the Pope's office the guardian and maintainer of that sacramentum unitatis. Just as the Church is one and indivisible, and as such the depository of Truth and Grace, which all these Fathers and this Council believed, so the means by which she is one and indivisible is the essential office of the Holy Father in the Church, the Guardianship of the Vine. In proportion to the growth of the Vine, in proportion to that prodigious power and fecundity with which its branches have interlaced human society, in that same proportion the perpetual guardianship of it extends. Here, to quote Vincent of Lerins, is an increase, but not a change: "Since this is the nature of an increase, that in themselves severally things grow greater, but of a change that something be turned from one thing which it was to another which it was not."* But in its foundation, in its idea, in its origin,

* Sec. 23, Oxford Translation. Herein I conceive to lie the great beauty and utility of Father Newman's late pamphlet; for from the junction of the two titles of "Second Eve" and "Mother of God," which are beyond question apostolical, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is seen to be evolved; so that the affirmative to the

in its excellence, to apply Clement of Alexandria's words, this guardianship is the same: it is *essential*, as the unity for which it exists; the unity of faith and communion; the unity of the Body, through which it is the will of the mystical Head, God the Word made Flesh, that His spiritual influence should descend to every part of that Body. This Guardianship of the Vine the "undivided" Church saw and acknowledged and professed in the successor of St. Peter. Will Dr. Pusey see and acknowledge together the indivisibility of the Church and the Guardianship which makes it indivisible; or will he repudiate both? In the latter case let him cease to appeal to a Church the perpetual function of which he denies: but that which his own statement requires for its completeness and coherence is, that he should acknowledge at once the sacramentum unitatis and the bond which maintains it; that seeing, as he does, how "our highest union with one another is an organic union with one another through union with Christ" (p. 46), and how "such an organisation is

Holy Father's question, "whether the doctrine be definable," is apparent; and the definition itself falls exactly under Vincent of Lerins' rule: "Si qua illa sunt, quæ ævi maturioris ætate pariuntur, jam seminis ratione proserta sunt, ut nihil novum postea proferatur in senibus, quod non in pueris jam antea latitaverat. * * Hoc rectum ac consequens est, ut primis atque extremis sibimet non discrepantibus, de incrementis triticiæ institutionis triticei quoque dogmatis frugem demetamus: ut cum aliquid ex illis seminum primordiis accessu temporis evolvatur, et nunc lætetur, et excolatur, nihil tamen de germinis proprietate mutetur, addatur licet forma, species, distinctio, eadem tamen cujusque generis natura permaneat." Sec. 23.

essential to the transmission of grace from Christ" (p. 55), he should also see how it follows from this very statement that even true sacraments cannot convey the grace of the Head outside of His Body; and so be led with the doctrine of the Vine itself to accept its necessary condition, the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour to Peter and his successors.

THE END.

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